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VEDIC *ṚTA* : ITS ORIGIN AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT

By

ALLEN HILLEL MERKREBS, Ann Arbor (U.S.A.)

I. Introduction

> Many are the waters of *ṛta*;
> the adoration of *ṛta* destroys iniquities ।
> The intelligent and brilliant praise
> of *ṛta* has opened the deaf (ears) of men ॥
> Many are the stable, sustaining, delightful
> forms of the embodied *ṛta* ।
> By *ṛta* are the pious expectant of food;
> by *ṛta* have the kine entered into the sacrifice ॥
> To *ṛta* belong the wide and profound heaven and earth ॥
>
> RV 4, 23, 8–10[1]

These verses provide a sense of the great esteem which the Vedic poets held for *ṛta*. The concept of *ṛta* can be classed with a group of Vedic law-concepts, like *vrata*, *vāja* and *dhāman*, which were employed by the gods to regulate relationships in the supernatural world. But *ṛta* distinguished itself from this group in a remarkable way. Unlike the other law-concepts, which were created by, and contingent upon, the gods, *ṛta* was an *a priori*, i.e. eternal and self-existent concept. It was the concept used by the Vedic poet-philosophers to express the eternal and inherent order in the world and in things. Its power resided in its inviolable regularity and its reassuring rhythm. This expression of an innate world-order was one of the loftiest notions ever promulgated by the Vedic seers. In the words of one scholar, "(*ṛta*) was all the difference between a chaos and a cosmos, between the blind play of chance and an intelligible and therefore intelligent process."[2]

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[1] Five translations of the *Ṛgveda* were utilized: Griffith's, Wilson's, Geldner's, the selections from Oldenberg and Roth in the Sacred Books of the East Series, and the translation of the seventh maṇḍala by Velankar. Wherever possible I tried to render a meaning that not only seemed right to me but that also was in agreement among the translations.

It is surprising to find, then, that relatively little research has been applied to so seminal an idea. Scholars readily admit the eminent role of *ṛta* in Vedic thought, but, for some reason, treatments of the concept have been mostly descriptive, and not analytic. Only as late as 1951, in H. Lüders' two-volume work *Varuṇa*, do we find a treatment of *ṛta* that reflects the depth and scope of the idea. And yet, Lüders' impulse stirred little subsequent investigation.

With this in mind, it is our aim to present here a systematic reconstruction of the earliest stages of *ṛta*'s development and to also bring forth certain new information regarding that development. It is already well-known that by the time the Vedic hymns had been composed *ṛta* possessed three meanings: (1) the physical order of the universe, (2) the order of the Vedic sacrifice and (3) the moral order of mankind. As of yet no specific effort has been made to establish the chronological or conceptual relationships between these three meanings. This paper will therefore show how the notion of *ṛta*, born from the simple recognition of daily order in the world, grew into the belief that that order could be made manifest and controlled via the sacrifice, until *ṛta* finally assumed the order of the sacrifice as the paradigm for Vedic moral order. In addition, we will show that, contrary to the opinion of most scholars, the deity who enjoyed the oldest and most intimate relation with *ṛta* was not Varuṇa, but Agni.

II. Antiquity of the Term Ṛta

A good place to begin our reconstruction of *ṛta*'s development is to ask how far back the term itself can be traced. Interestingly enough, the Vedas offer some speculation of their own regarding the origin of *ṛta*. One verse from the *Atharvaveda* (2, 10, 8) tells us that the gods released the primordial *ṛta* from darkness. And RV 1, 71, 2-3 claims, "(Our fathers, the Aṅgiras,) . . . . founded the *ṛta*; they set into motion the thought of it." Happily, information of a more scientific nature is available to us. Linguistic analysis has been able to show that the word *ṛta* goes back at least to the period of Indo-Iranian unity and probably even further to an Indo-European origin.

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[2] Max Müller F. *The Origin and Growth of Religion* (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1879), p. 242.

The earliest recorded use of the term occurs in the so-called Mittani list, an Anatolian text of the 14th century B.C. that mentions a treaty between a Hittite king and a prince of Mittani. Curiously, the text includes a series of divine names of Vedic type that are suggestive of the gods Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and the Nāsatyas.[3] Even more important, however, is the inclusion of the name '*arta*' among a list of Mittani kings. Most scholars now agree that this word is akin to *ṛta*, indicating that the term was known at least as early as the 14th century B.C.

Furthermore, comparative philologists have tried to show that *ṛta* derives from the Indo-European root* *ar*. For example, some early Indologists claim to have found a Latin cognate to *ṛta*. Thus, both the Grassman and St. Petersberg dictionaries associate *ṛta* with the Latin *ratus*, on the basis that the Sanskrit root '*ṛ*' takes either the '*ar*' form or the '*ra*' form. Max Müller also subscribed to this association. It should be noted, however, that the association is not without its difficulties. Namely, Sanskrit 'ṛ' ('*ar*', '*ra*') would normally be represented in Latin by '*or*', '*er*', '*ar*' and even '*re*'. Hence, we should find Latin *ortus*, *ertus*, *artus* or *urtus*, but not *ratus*. Müller surmounted this problem by appealing to the striking resemblance of meaning between *ṛta* and *ratus*: "Thus Cicero speaks of the *motus* (*stellarum*) *constantes et rati* (Tusc. v. 24, 69); and again (N. D. 11. 20, 51) of the *astrorum rati immutibalesque cursus*."[4] Grassman claims that *ratus* did indeed derive from an original Latin *ortus*, which is cognate with Greek *ornumi*.[5]

More recent scholarship, however, has confirmed the Indo-European correspondences of *ṛta*. For example, Mayrhofer[6] maintains that the Indo-European root **ar*, "to join", "unite", "fit", "suite", is that of Armenian *arnel* "to make", Gk. *ararīschō* "seam", Lat. *artus* "joint" and Tocharian *ārwar* "prepared". Emile Benveniste demonstrates some similar derivations:

> The root (**ar*) is that of Gk. *ararīskō* "to adjust, adapt, harmonize" (Armenian *arnel* "to make"), to which are related several nominative derivatives: with *-ti-*, Lat. *ars, artis* "natural disposition, talent"; with *-tu-*, Lat. *artus* "articulation", and also with another form of the root, Lat. *ritus* "ordinance, rite"; Gk. *artús* (Arm. *ard*, genetive *ardu* "ordinance") as in the present *artúnō* "to arrange, equip"; with **-dhmo-* Gk. *arthmos* "connection, junction"; with **-dhro-*, Gk *árthron* "articulation, member" etc.[7]

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[3] As they are found in the Mittani list, the names read, respectively, Mitira, Uruvna, Indara and Nasattiyana.

[4] Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

[5] Grassman H., *Wörterbuch zúm Ṛg-Veda* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1873), p. 282.

[6] Mayrhofer M., *Kuregefastes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindiscen* (Heidelberg, 1953), vol. 1, p. 48.

[7] Benveniste Emile, *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-europeenes* (Paris, 1969), vol. 2, pp. 100-101.

All of this evidence strongly suggests that Skt. *ṛta* " order " is related to the Indo-European root **ar*.

Even more substantial evidence exists for the Avestan cognate to *ṛta*. Here the equation is dramatically simple and complete : *ṛta* = *asa* (*asha*).[8] Not only are the words cognate phonetically, but also semantically. The predominant meaning of *asha* in the *Avesta* is " truth " or " righteousness " (Y. 49.5.) " . . . . every man of piety is a wise citizen in accordance with righteousness (*asha*)." Again (Y. 60. 5) : " May righteousness (*asha*) gain victory over the demon of the lie. " But other meanings for *asha* can be distinguished as well. In Y. 10. 4, there is a direct connection made between the notion of *asha* and the sacrifice : " . . . . through his action in the offering of gifts in accordance with the *asha* . . ". A meaning of " sacrificial order " would not be inappropriate here. And the notion of " world-order " for *asha* can be found in Y. 46. 3 : " When come, Great Giver, they who are the days' enlighteners, to hold the *asha* of the world upright . . ? There can be little doubt that asha carried the same triple meaning that we know for *ṛta*. The Avestan evidence therefore points to a positive dating of the *ṛta*-concept, with its three meanings, to the period before the split of the Indo-Iranian people.

III. A Note on Methodology

In turning to the Vedas themselves, we find that the already rich history of the term *ṛta* complicates our task of reconstructing its history. There are a number of instances, for example, wherein the word could conceivably carry all three of its meanings. Thus RV 1, 151, 1 : *avātiratam anṛtāni viśvā ṛtena mitrāvaruṇā sacathe*. H. H. Wilson, using Sāyaṇa's commentary, renders the phrase : " You annihilate all untruths; you associate us with the sacrifice (*ṛtena*). " Geldner has it as, " ihr haltet es mit dem Gesetz (law). " Lüders, as is his tendency, proposes for *ṛta* here the meaning of " truth ", since it is contrasted with *anṛta*, i.e., untruth. Finally, it seems that a translation of " world-order "— " you O Mitra and Varuṇa are united with the world-order "—would not be incorrect. In RV 3, 5, 2, the Vedic poet himself admits to the multivalent sense of *ṛta* : " Loving the many aspects of *ṛta* (*ṛtasya samdṛśaḥ*), the messenger has shone up at the bursting forth of the dawn. "

Nevertheless, the great majority of cases do render a near-exact meaning. For example RV 1, 164, 11 *varvarti cakraṃ pari dyām ṛtasya*, " the wheel of the physical order (i.e. the sun) turns round and round heaven. " Again, RV 3, 27, 11 *agniṃ yanturam apturam ṛtasya yoge vanuṣaḥ* । *viprā rājaiḥ saṃindhate* ॥ " The priests, eager to set to work the sacrifice, kindle with quick strength Agni the governor, him who crosses the waters. " And RV 3, 54, 3 *yuvor ṛtaṃ rodasī*

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[8] The phonetic change from *art* to *ash* is a standard transition. Thus, Skt. *martyā* = Aves. *mashya*; Skt. *pṛtanā* = Aves. *peshana*; Skt. *bhartar* = Aves. *bāshar*, and so on.

satyam astu, " of you two, heaven and earth, let *ṛta* become truth. " It is precisely from these kinds of clues, where the meaning is unmistakable, that a restoration of *ṛta*'s early history is made possible.

IV. Ṛta as Physical Order

There is sufficient evidence in the Vedas to suggest that the ecliptic, the great solar wheel of the heaven, was one of the earliest and perhaps most important expressions of *ṛta*. The connections of *ṛta* with the sun, the sky and especially the dawn, outnumber all other of its affiliations in the Ṛgveda. A case in point is RV 1, 164, 11, which has been quoted above but commands closer scrutiny :

> *dvādaśāraṃ na hi tajjarāya varvarti cakraṃ pari dyām ṛtasya* ।
> *ā putrā agne mithunāso atra saptaśatāni viṃśatiś ca tasthuḥ* ॥
>
> The 12-spoked wheel of *ṛta* revolves round heaven and tends not to decay ।
> Here, O Agni, the 720 sons stand in pairs ॥

Unmistakably, *cakram* here stands for the wheel of the ecliptic which encircles the earth. The 12 spokes are the months and the 720 sons are the 360 day-night pairs. Verse 48 of this same hymn adds to the properties of *cakram* the 3 naves (*nabhyāni*), i.e. the 3 Vedic seasons of 4 months each. Although Sāyaṇa maintained that the 12 spokes signified the 12 signs of the zodiac, the meaning of sun for *ṛta* in this example is unmistakable. Here are some other examples of *ṛta*'s solar nature :

RV 8, 86, 5 :	The sun-god Savitṛ toils by means of *ṛta*.
RV 1, 123, 13 :	Co-operating with the rays (*raśmibhiḥ*) of *ṛta* (O Dawn), confirm in us every propitious path.
RV 6, 51, 1 :	The great eye of Mitra (the sun) arises; the face of *ṛta* shines like an ornament in the sky.

The home of *ṛta* is said to be situated far in the distance, i.e. in heaven. Indra is asked (RV 4, 21, 3) to come from the sphere of the sun (*svarṇarāt*), from the abode of *ṛta* (*sadanāt ṛtasya*). And we are told in RV 4, 51, 8 that " the divine Dawns grow from the seat of *ṛta*.. ".

In addition to these comparisons of the sun (and dawn) with *ṛta*, there are a number of references to the " path of *ṛta* " (*ṛtasya pathā*). This phrase, in fact, occurs 24 times in the Ṛgveda, second in number only to the phrase " womb of *ṛta* " (*ṛtasya yoni*). From the following verses, the meaning behind " path of *ṛta* " cannot be missed; it stood, first and foremost, for the path of the sun :

RV 1, 124, 3:	She (the Dawn) travels steadily along the path of *ṛta*.
RV 5, 64, 4 :	(Uṣas) traverses the path of *ṛta* as if knowing its course.

RV 1, 136, 2 : The broad road of the white light has become visible; its way is lit by the rays of *ṛta*'s path.

RV 5, 47, 6 : The wives (of the sun, i.e. the solar rays), rejoicing in their impregnation with the bull (the sun), come on the path of the sky.

Max Müller was among the first scholars to recognize that the original sense of *ṛta* came from the regular and orderly movement of the sun :

> The going, the procession, the great daily movement, or the path followed everyday by the sun from his rising to his setting, followed also by the dawn, by day and night, and their various representatives, a path which the powers of night and darkness could never invade would soon be regarded as....(a) path determined by that unknown power which they tried to grasp by the name of *ṛta*.[9]

And it should be plain why the ecliptic was the earliest manifestation of the *ṛta*-concept, the sun's path was by far the most observable and the most awe-inspiring embodiment of a natural world-order.

Ṛta was observable in a number of other natural phenomena as well. Whatever had a nature of constancy or a regular recurrence was an expression of order. Thus, RV 2, 28, 4 tells us, " the *ṛta* of Varuṇa makes the rivers flow". And RV 4, 3, 11 reads, " by the *ṛta* (world-order), the cow rules the *ṛta* (i.e. the flow of milk . " Oldenberg makes the interesting observation that the power of *ṛta* was especially attributed to apparent contradictions in nature that are, nevertheless, ever-confirmed and renewed.[10] For example, *ṛta* is present in that miracle whereby food is able to nourish a man, or a black cow can give white milk, or raw milk can become a cooked drink. Whenever nature exhibited this kind of miracle, or whenever the symmetry of nature materialized, it was a manifestation of the order of *ṛta*.

V. Ṛta as the Axis Mundi and the Path of the Sacrifice

In addition to its manifestation as the path of the sun, another early and important expression of *ṛta* was as the support of heaven and earth. Thus RV 4, 42, 4, " I (Varuṇa) supported the sky in the seat of *ṛta*. " And RV 7, 53, 2, " Bring forth with your newer hymns the Ancient Parents (Heaven and Earth) who are the seats of *ṛta*. " Four times the Heaven and Earth are described as *ṛtāvarī*, " in accordance with *ṛta* ", and the rodasī are so described twice. And, in RV 1, 159, 1, Heaven and Earth are described as *ṛtavṛdhā*, " increasers of ṛta ". This early and important characteristic of *ṛta*, the path that united heaven with earth, the *axis mundi*, took on an even greater significance when it came to be recognized as the path of the sacrifice. The identification of *ṛta*, as *axis mundi*, with the path of the sacrifice is not difficult to understand. The tall column of smoke from the sacrificial altar, which carried gifts to the gods, was a dramatic manifestation of the bridge between heaven and earth :

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[9] Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

[10] Oldenberg Hermann, *Religion des Veda* (Berlin: W. Hertz, 1894), p. 196.

RV 1.128.2 : We inspire him (Agni), rider of the sacrifice, on the path of *ṛta*, by adoration with offerings, in the divine world.

RV 9, 97, 32 : (The Soma) cries repeatedly on the path of *ṛta*.

RV 3, 12, 7 : O Indra-Agni, the thoughts (of the worshippers) go forwards to (you) from the work (of sacrifice) along the paths of *ṛta*.

RV 1, 79, 3 ; (Agni), swelling with the milk of *ṛta*, leads it (to heaven) by the path of *ṛta*.

VI. Ṛta as Sacrificial Order

With this notion of *ṛta* as the *axis mundi*, a path made accessible by the sacrifice, *ṛta*'s association with the sacrifice itself was established. The sacrifice came to be regarded, in a literal sense, as one end of the *axis mundi*. Thus, the sacrifice is often designated as the " seat of *ṛta* " (*ṛtasya sadas*); it is also called the navel (*nābhis*) of *ṛta*. In RV 10, 1, 6, we are told that Agni is seated in the navel of the broad earth, i.e. the sacrificial altar. It was only a short step, then, for the Vedic priest to consider the sacrifice itself as an embodiment of *ṛta*. Not only was the sacrifice the seat of the *axis mundi*, but its liturgical order, which was fixed and had a regular recurrence, reflected the order found in nature.

The identification of *ṛta* with the sacrifice proved to be a dramatic step in its development. For the first time now, *ṛta* became tangible to man, and, in particular, to the priest. The order of *ṛta*, the cosmic order now embodied in the order of the sacrifice, came literally under the guidance of the priesthood. The idea of the Vedic sacrifice as an instrument to control cosmic events has been treated at great length by a number of scholars and there is no need to pursue it here. It need only be understood that this idea resulted from the natural evolution of the concept of *ṛta* as the *axis mundi*, to its recognition as the seat of the sacrifice, and finally to its identification with the sacrifice itself.

VII. Ṛta as Moral Order

The earliest Vedic expression of moral order came in the mythological notion of an ongoing struggle between the forces of light (*devas*) and demoniac forces (*asuras*). The struggle was kept in balance by the equilibrizing power of *ṛta*. Louis Renou has described this balance of moral order in the following way :

> The idea of evil (in the *Ṛgveda*) is never clearly personified as a major demon, but is represented under the multiple forms of " hostility ",

> " violence ", " resistance ". ...Opposing the idea of evil or *primitive anarchy* there are numina who represent the power of order.[11]

But this conception of moral order, expressed in the mythological balance of power between chaos and order, eventually found a much more concrete medium of expression, namely, the sacrifice.

The identification of *ṛta* with the liturgical order of the sacrifice added a new dimension to its meaning. *Ṛta* no longer signified just a balance between chaos and order, but now, through the sacrifice, came to represent a balance among men, among sacrificial participants, that had to be maintained and upheld. The most striking feature of this new development is that the order of the sacrifice came to take on a moral significance. The relationship between priest and patron, now seen as a manifestation of *ṛta*, was often expressed in moral terms. Thus, according to the texts of the Black *Yajurveda* (*Kāṭhaka sūtra* 23.6), the sacrifice was considered to be a locus of exchange, wherein the priest took on the " impurity " of the patron, who, in turn, became " pure ". The impurity of the patron was attributed to the symbolic death he underwent at the sacrifice, which associated him with evil. Thus, prior to the sacrifice, there was a stricture against eating the food of the impure patron, putting on his clothes, or even pronouncing his name. The exchange of purity between priest and patron, therefore, was not only an act of upholding the sacrificial order, but also the moral order. Of course, *ṛta* eventually grew, from this early conception of moral order among sacrificial participants, to represent the idea of universal moral order.

The *ṛta*-concept proved to be perfectly suited for the Vedic scheme of morality. We have seen that from the earliest times this scheme was expressed as the balance between order and chaos. It was this very emphasis on order, on balance or equilibrium between good and bad, pure and impure, that came to be the predominant characteristic of Vedic ethics. As a result, Vedic ethics seems to have generally followed the pattern of the so-called " shame-ethic " system, wherein the basic concern is to stay within certain established moral boundaries, thereby avoiding shame for any transgression. At the same time, Vedic ethics shows little development as a " guilt-ethic " system, which is based on internal, individual feelings of sin or guilt. The Vedas reflect this underdeveloped concern for concepts like guilt or sin. We learn that the Aryans were for the most part, a prosperous, content people, who possessed a well-developed martial spirit. Thus, Indra, the warrior *par excellence*, was the most popular of Vedic gods and stood as an archetype for the Aryan male. But the Vedic hymns laid no great stress, aside from Varuṇa, on the moral quality of the gods. To be sure, they are generally described as good, generous and true, but the notions of sin or guilt are rarely associated with them.

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[11] Renou Louis, *Religions of Ancient India* (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), p. 19.

It seems, in fact, that the general conception of sin in the Vedas was that it was a physical property, a disease, that could be conferred upon and received from others. This conception was most explicit in the *Atharvaveda*, a text that reflected more accurately the popular religious beliefs. For example, in AV 7,64 the bird of Nirṛti, bearing the infection of sin, is able to pass it on to other men ; when Indra slays a *Brāhmaṇa*, he " successively manages to pass it off on a series of other beings ".[12] The *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (2.5.1.2) speaks of gods who wipe sin off on Tṛta and he on men. The *Ṛgveda* also entertains this view : 2, 26, 9 " discharge, Varuṇa, the debts (of sin contracted) by my progenitors". Or RV 6, 51, 7 " let us not suffer the sin (*enas*) committed by another." And, RV 7, 52, 2 " may we not suffer for an offense originating from others (*anyajātam enaḥ*) ". Some passages imply that the sinner is not even conscious when committing a transgression. This would explain how it was possible for sins to be committed even in sleep (RV 10, 164, 3). The *Ṛgveda* contains but a few cases where sin or guilt is confessed by the worshipper. Thus, RV 7, 86, 5 " forgive us the sins (*drugdhāni*) of our ancestors ; forgive those that we have committed in person ". And RV 7, 88, 6 " may we too, O Lord of the Yakṣas, who are yours, not suffer (for our guilt), though we are guilty (*enasvantaḥ*) ".

In general, however, Vedic ethics seems to have been based not so much on individual feelings of guilt or sin as on the shame-ethic principle of maintaining the prescribed order among men. This principle is reflected in the later meanings of " law ", " duty " and " truth " that came to be associated with *ṛta.* Thus, twice in the *Ṛgveda* (9, 7, 1 ; 9, 110, 4) we find the phrase " law of *ṛta* " (*ṛtasya dharman*) and in other places (8, 89, 4; 10, 110, 11) the phrase " ordinance of *ṛta* " (*ṛtasya pradik*), as well as (9, 86, 32) " precept of *ṛta* " (*ṛtasya praśiḥ*). The most common phrase, however, to express *ṛta* as moral order is " the path of right " (*ṛtasya pathā*):

RV 7,65,3 : O Varuṇa-Mitra, may your path of right bear us over trouble as a boat over waters.

RV 8, 31,13 : Seeing that Mitra, Aryaman, [and Varuṇa are guarding us, the paths of right are fair to tread.

RV 7, 44, 5 : May Dadhirās prepare the way we travel that we may pass along the path of right.

It is interesting to note that this latter phrase is taken directly from its original sense as " the path of the sun " and hence *ṛta* has finally come, full circle, to be used as an appropriate expression for the Vedic notion of morality as fixed order.

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[12] Keith A. B., *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads* (London: Oxford University Press, 1925), p. 245.

VIII *Ṛta and the Gods*

Now that the general course of *ṛta's* development has been outlined, additional light can be shed by considering the different types of relationships the gods held with *ṛta*. Significantly, the concept of *ṛta* itself never became personified and rarely was it the object of sacrificial offerings, which suggests that its highly abstract nature was recognized early enough to prohibit an active personality from representing it. Nevertheless, a certain amount of corporeality did belong to *ṛta*. Thus there are a number of references to the seat of *ṛta*, there are drivers of *ṛta*, ships of *ṛta*, cows and milk of *ṛta*. It was with this vague materiality of *ṛta* that the gods became affiliated.

It seems reasonable to expect that the first godly affiliations with *ṛta* would have been ones that incorporated its original solar and axial meanings. In the *Ṛgveda* three main types of relationship with *ṛta* are expressed : "offspring of" (*garbha, prajā*), "protector of" (*gopā*) and "being in accordance with" *ṛta* (*ṛtāvan*). Now, in view of *ṛta*'s earliest meanings, it comes as no surprise that Agni, the fire-god, assumed these epithets more than any other god in the *Ṛgveda*. Agni alone was suited to simultaneously represent both the ecliptic and the *axis mundi*. He alone is designated (RV 10, 5, 7) as "first born" of *ṛta* (*prathamajā ṛtasya*). Moreover, five times he is known as *ṛtajāta* (born from *ṛta*), while this description is found only once more, for the Ādityas. Agni is designated on three occasions as the protector of *ṛta*, whereas Varuṇa and the Ādityas receive this designation but once apiece. And, most dramatically, Agni is accorded the epithet *ṛtāvan* twenty-nine times, while Varuṇa receives it only seven times and the Ādityas thrice.

So it is curious, then, that most Vedic scholars regard Varuṇa, an ancient but short-lived ruler of the Vedic pantheon, as having the oldest and most intimate relationship with *ṛta*. If it can be shown that Varuṇa's association with *ṛta* was mostly of a moral nature, which we know to be a late development in *ṛta*'s meaning, then the belief in Varuṇa's primal relationship with *ṛta* becomes doubtful. On the other hand, there is abundant evidence, some already presented, to suggest that Agni, and not Varuṇa, enjoyed the earliest affiliation with *ṛta*.

IX. Agni and Ṛta

To demonstrate the antiquity of Agni's association with *ṛta* raises a problem that must be surmounted at the outset. Namely, an Indo-Iranian period for the word "*agni*" cannot be established because it has no Avestan cognate. This absence is apparently an aberration since the term is almost certainly of Indo-European origin : Latin *ignis* and Greek *aiglē* are attested cognates. But, in the *Avesta*, the term *ātar* is used to denote the meaning of fire. Because of this deviation, and from the exclusion of Agni in the Mittani list, A. B. Keith concludes that Agni "was a specific development of the Indian priest."[13] Nevertheless, in light of the Indo-European evidence, this question remains open. And Keith himself goes on to clearly connect the Avestan fire cult with the Vedic fire cult:

> ...the worship of fire itself, apart from the special conception of it as Agni, is strongly marked in the period of unity of the Indo-Iranians. The fire in the *Avesta* is the centre of a strong and developed ritual : the fire priests Āthravans are clearly the same in origin as the Vedic *Atharvans*, and Ātar must have been conceived as a great and powerful god...the friend of the house, the repeller of foes, probably known as in the lightning and plant-born forms.[14]

Furthermore, positive traces of a direct connection between Ātar and Agni do exist. Thus, the Vedic god Apāṃ Napāt, often designated as Agni's lightning aspect, has a striking equivalent in the Avestan spirit Apām Napāt, who has mythological connections with Ātar. Also, *ātar* is akin to Skt. *ātharvyu* (flaming), a frequent epithet of Agni.

In addition, it can be shown that fire and the *ṛta-asha* notion had a very early and substantial relationship. Evidence from the *Avesta* is explicit in this matter. Thus, in a Pahlavi enumeration of the Amesha Spentas, the five archangels under Ahura Mazda, the material aspect of each is listed :

> In the world, that which is mine, who am Aūharmazd, is the righteous man, of Vohūman are the cattle of *Aṛtavahist is the fire*, of Satvaīrō is the metal, of Spendermaṭ are the earth and virtuous woman, of Horvadaṭ is the water and of Amerōdaṭ is the vegetation.
>
> Sāyast lē-Sāyast, 15, 5

Aṛtavahist is the Pahlavi form of Asavahist (Ashavahisht), the archangel of *asha*. Here then is a direct link between *asha* and fire. Other connections between the two are found :

> Ys, 31, 3 : what joy thou (Ashavahisht) did establish through thy spirit and *through the fire*.
>
> Ys, 34, 4 : ...and Lord (Ashavahisht) *for thy fire*, mighty through righteousness, we pray.
>
> Ys, 43, 9 : and *for thy fire* the gift of homage, *even of asha*, so far as my power and thought may go.

These passages clearly demonstrate that *asha* had a connection with fire. It can safely be concluded that this connection, because it is paralleled in the Vedas, goes back at least to the Indo-Iranian period.

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[13] Keith, *ibid.*, p. 161.

[14] Keith, *ibid.*, p. 161.

Let us now turn to a closer examination of the relation between Agni and *ṛta*. As noted previously, Agni alone is the *ṛtasya prathamajā*, i.e. the first-born of *ṛta*. Professor Gonda, in a thorough analysis of this phrase,[15] takes it to mean, " the first embodiment of *ṛta*, i.e. among phenominal beings the prototype of those embodying *ṛta* ". It is also "a first embodiment which is in accordance with *ṛta*". This idea becomes clear when it is remembered that Agni has both a well-developed solar and sacrificial nature. These properties would render him as the natural first embodiment of *ṛta*.

Agni's association with the sun is much dwelt upon : he shines like the sun (RV 1,149,3), his lustre is like the rays of the sun (RV 7,3,6), he dispells darkness (RV 8,43,32). In RV 1,146,4, *sūrya* is used as a synonym for Agni : *dhīrāsaḥ padaṃ kavayaḥ nayanti....abhavat sūryo nṛn*, " wise poets follow (Agni's) track....he, the sun, became visible to them, the men. " Again at RV 4,13,3 " (the gods) have created (Agni) for dispersing the darkness—Him, the Sun, the all-observer...." The poet proclaims, in RV 4,3,11, that the sun appeared when Agni was born. Finally, RV 3,2,14 overtly identifies the sun and Agni:

śuciṃ na yāmann iṣiraṃ svardṛśam ketuṃ
divo rocanasthām uṣar buddham ।
agniṃ mudhānaṃ divo apratiskutaṃ tam
imahe namasā vājinaṃ bṛhat ॥

As the radiant one (the sun), travelling, the swift one, of sun-like aspect, the meteor of heaven, who dwells in light, who walks at dawn ।

Agni, the head of heaven, the unrepressed, him we approach with adoration, the strong, mightily ॥

Thus Agni, an embodiment of the sun, was the first embodiment of *ṛta*. And at the same time Agni was the prototypic representative of the *axis mundi*: he is described as the head of heaven, the navel of the earth (RV 1,159,2); he spreads himself over heaven and earth, according to *ṛta* (RV 5,1,7); he is born from heaven and earth (RV 2,2,3). Clearly, the path of the sacrifice was one of the earliest manifestations of *ṛta* and Agni was its natural " first embodiment ".

The fire-god is also frequently called the herdsman, or protector of *ṛta*: RV 1,1,8 *rājantam adhvarāṇāṃ gopām ṛtasya* " (Agni is) the ruler of the priests, the protector of *ṛta*. " Or, at RV 3,10,2 *tvām yajñeṣu ṛtvijam agne hotāram īlate gopāḥ ṛtasya* " O Agni, they magnify you, the *ṛtvij*, the *hotṛ* at the sacrifices, (you) the protector of *ṛta*. " In both of these verses Agni is stated or asked to " radiate " in his own house, i.e. in the house of the sacrificer. In RV 10,118,7 it reads " with an unimpaired radiance, do thou, O Agni, burn the evil beings (*rakṣaḥ*), shine, being the protector of *ṛta.*" It is possible that the epithet " protector " is used here in a literal sense, i.e. protection of *ṛta* here implies the destruction of demoniac beings. Thus, in RV 5, hymn 12, which contains a number of allusions to liars and deceivers, Agni, the "bull of *ṛta*" (*ṛtasya vṛṣṇi*), i.e. chief, lord, champion of *ṛta*, is expected to fetter the evil doer (*ripu*) in verse four, while observing the fundamental norm and order (*ṛtayan ṛtena*) in verse three. These passages make it clear that the burning and radiating Agni, who is a destroyer of darkness *par excellence,* was regarded as the protector of the right order when infringed upon by cheats and criminals. In this sense, Agni's relation to the three-fold meaning of *ṛta* becomes complete, although it is evident that his association with the earlier meanings of *ṛta,* the physical and sacrificial meanings, were much more pronounced than his relationship with the moral sense of *ṛta.*

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[15] Gonda Jan, " *Gods* " *and* " *Powers* " *in the Veda* (The Hague: Mouton and Company, 1957), pp. 74-75.

X. *Varuṇa and Ṛta*

It cannot be denied that the god Varuṇa, for a short time, enjoyed an unparalleled intimacy with the *ṛta*-concept. There is much evidence which indicates, however, that this relationship was established almost exclusively with the later, moral nature of *ṛta,* thereby making his affiliation with *ṛta* a relatively late one.

Varuṇa was the successor to Dyauspitā as the ruler of the Vedic pantheon and his base of power was built, like 'Dyaus', on the omnipresent power of his sky-nature. His royal nature is therefore well developed : he is the king of the world (RV 5, 85, 3), of god and men (RV 2, 27, 10) and ruler over all (RV 10, 132, 4). Three times he alone is designated as the world ruler (*saṃrāṭ*), and, with Mitra, eleven times. Hand in hand with this kingly aspect of Varuṇa was his moral nature. He guards the thoughts of men (RV 8, 41, 1) : he discovers and forgives sins (RV 7, 28, 4) : he punishes the wicked (RV 1, 128, 7): his laws (*vratam*) are fixed and are obeyed by the gods (RV 8, 41, 7) : he discriminates men's truth and falsehood (RV 7, 49, 3).

Because of this moral nature, the majority of Varuṇa's connections with the *ṛta*-concept are with its moral meaning. Thus, four times he, along with Mitra is designated as the upholder of moral order (*ṛtāvṛdh*). RV 4, 1, 2 reads " bring with favour to the gods your brother Varuṇa, who loves the sacrifice, true to the law (*ṛtāvan*), the king, supporter of mankind. Again RV 7, 40, 4 " this Varuṇa is the guide of the law (*ṛtasya netā*), he, Mitra, and Aryaman, the kings, have finished our work." And RV 5, 63, 7 " Wise, with your law (*dharmaṇā*) O Mitra-Varuṇa, you guard the ordinances (*vratā rakṣathe*), by moral order (*ṛtena*) you govern all the world. "

To be sure, Varuṇa is also portrayed as the controller of the physical world—he makes the sun cross the sky, the rain to fall, he supports the heaven and earth, etc.—but conspicuous by its absence in most of these descriptions is any mention of the *ṛta*-concept. Thus we find passages as the following :

RV 6, 70, 1 : The heaven and the earth, by Varuṇa's law (*dharmaṇā*), unwasting, rich in germs, stand parted each from each.

RV 1, 24, 10 : Varuṇa's holy laws (*vratāni*) remain unweakened, and through the night the moon moves on in splendour.

RV 1, 123, 8 : The same in form today, the same tomorrow, (the Dawns) keep Varuṇa's eternal statute (*dhāma*).

RV 8, 42, 1 : Lord of all wealth, the Asura (Varuṇa) propped the heavens and measured out the broad earth's wide expanses. He, king supreme, approached all living creatures. All these are Varuṇa's holy laws (*vratāni*).

Many of the descriptions of Varuṇa's control over the physical world utilize, instead of the expected *ṛta*-concept, the law concepts familiarity associated with Varuṇa-*dharma*, *dhāman* and *vratam*. It might be suggested that these law concepts were more naturally suited to Varuṇa's character as a moral overseer. The earlier meaning of *ṛta* as physical order therefore never came to be much associated with him. On the basis of all this evidence, we can safely say that Varuṇa's association with *ṛta* emerged when the concept was already established as, first and foremost, a moral principle. Therefore this association must have come later in *ṛta's* development.

XI. Summary

Ṛta's earliest physical meanings were not represented initially by Varuṇa. It was Agni, the fire-god, who from first to last represented the three meanings of *ṛta*. It has been shown how Agni was identified with the sun, and so with the ecliptic, the first great manifestation of world order. Thus, in RV 3, 2, 13, Agni, who is a dweller in heaven (*divikṣayam*), whose way is bright (*citrayāmam*) and whose hair is golden (*harikeśam*), is said to then be in accordance with *ṛta* (*ṛtāvānam*).

Agni's early association with *ṛta* was strengthened by his identification with the sacrifice. He is often designated as *hotṛ*, *adhvaram* and other priestly names ; he is the leader of the sacrifice (RV 2, 5, 2) and the banner of the sacrifice (RV 3, 3, 3). And, more importantly, as the messenger (*dūta*) of the sacrifice he supported the heaven and the earth : RV 4, 13, 4 *divaḥ skambhaḥ pāti nākam* " as the pillar of heaven, he protects the firmament ". Therefore Agni represented not only the sacrifice itself, but also the *axis mundi*, both of which were major manifestations of *ṛta*.

Finally, Agni also had an innately developed moral nature. This aspect came from his role as the destroyer of darkness, the slayer of demons *par* *excellence.* Because of his proximity to men, as the domestic sacrifice, he was the constant and reliable guardian against evil. And this conception of moral order was more in accordance with the Vedic ethical framework than Varuṇa's emphasis on guilt. By virtue of his perfection, Agni was thought to be all-knowing, possessed of all wisdom. He is given the power to remit sin (RV 4, 12, 4 ; 7, 93, 7) and even to avert the anger of Varuṇa (RV 4, 1, 4). From this pervasive association with *ṛta*'s three meanings, it seems certain that Agni held the oldest and most intimate relationship with *ṛta*.

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URVAŚI' THE WATER BELLE

(A fresh interpretation of ṚV. X .95)

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So much has been said about the mysterious couple—Urvaśī and Purūravas—that it may hardly appear necessary to think afresh about their nature and their relationship. The fact, however, is that, though so much has been said, very little has been unfolded about their real nature and the portent of the hymn. There are no two opinions among scholars that the later accounts, occurring in the Brāhmaṇas and the Purāṇas, are fleshed up upon the skeleton of the Ṛgvedic hymn ; and hence they are not dependable as regards the real and original nature of the hymn and the two actors in it. Of the fairly recent scholars Wright[1] and Kosambi agree that the hymn has, as the main motif, human sacrifice ; and Kosambi suggests that it is a case of the husband being sacrificed to the wife, upon the birth of a child, for fertility. Goldman, studying the hymn as forming a group with other two (X. 17 and X, 10), as did Bergaigne, has shown a common motif for all the three viz. " The unstable union of a mortal male with an immortal female ". He suggests that the mortal male is the seer, while the immortal female is the goddess of speech. Thus, according to him, in the context of the present hymn, Urvaśī is the immortal Speech having unstable and undesirable union with the seer, Purūravas. According to Karambelkar[2] Urvaśī is the lightning and Purūravas is the sacrificial goat.

These opinions will be well examined at the proper places in our discussion further ; but, at the outset, Goldman's suggestion of the immortal female and the mortal male is readily acceptable ; and there is indication in the hymn itself to support it. Thus about Purūravas is said " *mṛtyú-bandhu* " (v. 18 and the last). The expressions " *márto amṛ'tāsu* " (v. 9) and " *ámānuṣiṣu mā'nuṣe niṣéve* " (v. 8) support this suggestion. Actually the epithet " *mṛtyú-bandhu* " and the speech attributed to Purūravas, viz. " The *su-devá* shall fly to the high abode ; he shall sleep on the lap of Nirṛti ; him shall the fierce wolves devour" (v. 14) has given currency to the "killing" or the "dying" theory which led to the belief of Purūravas being sacrificed to his own wife, or being sacrificed as a goat ; or, more mildly as Goldman puts it, to the natural doom of Death in the case of Purūravas. Thus the scholars noted above are one in believing the hymn to imbibe, or suggest, the death of Purūravas.

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[1] Wright J. C. " Purūravas and Urvaśī " *BSOAS*, Vol. XXX, 1967, pp. 526-47; Kosambi, *Myth and Reality*, Bombay, 1962, and earlier JBBRAS, 1951; Goldman R. P., " Mortal Man and Immortal Woman ", *J. Or. Instt. Baroda*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, pp. 273-303; Earlier Shroeder, *Mysterium und Mimus in Ṛigveda etc.*

[2] " Urvaśī āṇi Purūravā " (article in Marathi), *Taruṇa Bhārata* (Marathī Daily, Nagpur), Divali No. D/-3-20-10-1960. The same arguments, and the same material, appear in the thesis of (Dr.) Miss Karambelkar on the *Dialogue Hymns from the Ṛgveda* (Submitted to the University of Nagpur, 1966). Hence a separate mention of her name is not necessary, hereafter.

Even accepting the hypothesis of the unstable union between the mortal *ṛṣi* (seer) and the immortal Speech, there are some doubts that have to be solved. Firstly, if the female counterpart is the immortal Speech ..and a goddess..how could it be that she really says to her devotee (Purūravas), "friendships with women (including herself !) are the hearts of the wolves !" (v. 15). This would belie her very nature as a divine power. Moreover the hymn does nowhere support the idea that Purūravas has to submit to his doom of death, or "accept his fate, the doom of all men" (Goldman, *op.cit.* p. 300). On the contrary, when he suggests that he will fly to the highest heaven (*parā-vátam paramā'm*, v. 14) etc. Urvaśī speaks to him, "Die not, Purūravas" etc. (v. 15). Even accepting the Speech-seer motif, what sound basis is there for believing that "the seer rejects the advances of the goddess of speech on the ground that the union of the mortal and immortal is improper" (as Goldman suggests in the case of Yama and Yamī) ? In both the cases, i.e. Purūravas and Yama, it is difficult to see how the mortal seer would be willing to reject the favours of the divine speech, he would otherwise crave for ! ! Again, it is not quite clear, if we follow the Speech-seer theory, why the dialogue is so much coloured with sex-images in the hymn of Urvaśī and also in that of Yama and Yamī. Another point to be noted is that Speech is only a power; and, being abstract, would hardly warrant such prominent sexual language as we have in both these hymns. On the contrary, such language warrants a real person—more probably in ritual; and the Vedic rituals support it. We agree with Goldman that *Vāk Ambhṛṇi* actually proclaims, she would make any mortal a seer if she chooses (X. 125. 5); but the parallel has to be discarded as inapt. The point is, why should Speech try to favour the seer in the most sexual terms, in the form of Yamī and Urvaśī and why should the seer reject the favour (in the form of Yama), and be doomed to die in the form of Purūravas ? Moreover, how could we explain the twinship (Yama-Yamī) on the basis of the Speech-seer motif ? The hymn of Yama-Yamī does not concern us now. Speaking about the hymn of Urvaśī, it has to be noted that we have not one divine lady but many (v. 9 *amṛtāsu*, and v. 8 *ámānuṣīṣu*) :

There are many other points that have remained unsolved. For example, what could be the explanation of the expression that Purūravas was born for "*dasyu-hátya*" ; his birth is said to be for the great battle (*mahé...ráṇāya*). The theory of the pathetic departure of Urvaśī, and even of the (sacrificial) death of the lover-husband (!) seems to have been suggested among others, from the expressions "*áśru vartayat*" (v. 12) and *vartáyate áśru*" (v. 13). But there is every probability that these words have been purposefully used by the seer, on the well-known, and equally well practised, dictum of disguised presentation (*parokṣa priyatva*).[3] If this is borne in mind, these words cannot be taken as they are. Every word has to be examined as a unique image, in comparison with other similar images, rather than with mere words ! In that case *aśru* may not be the " tear" as we understand it ; but it might stand as the image of the release of the bodily fluid from the eye, the 'eye' itself being a symbol for something else on the analogy of the human eye. The words "*sūnuḥ*" and "*pitṛ*" have to be taken as presenting images for certain cosmic powers, of course corroborated by the Vedic tradition. This means, a fresh study of the hymn (and other such hymns) is a singular necessity. In such a study parallelism in the images has to be substatiated from the *Ṛgveda* itself as far as possible. This will also show that the later legends went on spinning awkwardly as the original images get blurred due to lack of a careful internal comparative treatment. The case of Urvaśī is an example in question ; and before an analytical study it is better to place, once again, the original Ṛgvedic passages side by side with the first remote diversion as we have in the Brāhmaṇas. The account in the Brāhmaṇic tradition shall be given first, leaving the Purāṇic versions that more or less have taken the Brahmaṇic account as the norm.

The *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* gives the account in short in the context of the churning of the fire, to eulogize the fire-ritual. It also quotes certain verses from the *Ṛgveda* to suit the context and the course of the narrative. According to it (*Śat. Br*. XI. 5.1)Urvaśī married Purūravas and agreed to stay with him on the following conditions :—(i) That he shall beat her with the cane-rod thrice a day ; (ii) That he shall not sexually approach her without her consent ; and (iii) That she should not see him naked. The Brāhmaṇa adds further that this was the norm of behaviour about the ladies.[4] Then she stayed with him and got pregnant. The gandharvas (her kindreds) then decided to get her back. Now, Urvaśī had with her an ewe with two lambs tied to her cot (*avir dvy'uraṇā śayana upa-baddhā-sa*). Of these the gandharvas stole one. Urvaśī cried out, " They are carrying off my son as if in an unvalorous condition, as if I be without protection" (what she meant was she appeared to be helpless). The second also was carried away; and Uravśī yelled as before. Now Purūravas saw this (and also heard). He darted suddenly in a naked condition saying, "how could it be unvalorous, how lonely, when I be there?" *katham nu tad avīram katham a-janam syād yatrā-ham syām*); Urvaśī's words are—"*avīra iva bata me ajana iva putram haranti*). As Purūravas darted naked, the gandharvas caused the lightning, whereby Urvaśī saw him naked even as it was the day-time. And away she went!

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[3] The tendency goes right further to the Upaniṣadic period; cf. *Aitereya Up*. 1.3.14; and it can be marked in such expressions of the *Ṛgveda* as " *iha bravītu ya u tac-ciketat* " (I.35.6); *cf* I. 95.4 etc.

[4] The point of the " behaviour about the ladies " has been stressed by Andrew Lang in a chapter on " Cupid, Psyche and the Sun-frog " in his *Custom and Myth*, London, 1884, in criticizing the view of Max Müller, Roth, Cox, Kuhn and others, pp. 68-76. Liebrecht, *Zur Volskunde*, p. 241, says the conditions were added at a later period. It must be stressed that the point of the conditions comes in the Brāhmaṇic account, and is alien to the original Ṛgvedic passages. As such its value, and also of the arguments based upon it, is of little value.

This, the Brāhmaṇa says, is the background of the hymn in the *Ṛgveda* (X. 95). According to it Purūravas runs after her, who had mixed with her clan. The female friends of Urvaśī fled away as he approached them taking the form of water-birds. Urvaśī ultimately appeared before him in her own form. He entreated upon her to return, which she denied; but told him to come on the scene after one year, when she would give him his son back; and only then she would sleep with him for the night. Purūravas agreed, and returned after one year and had her for the night. The gandharvas gave him his son back. But he asked them to make him also a gandharva like them. They, however, said that it was impossible with the same body as he had. They offered him their fire on a dish and said, that if he sacrificed with it for one year, he would be a gandharva. While proceeding to his abode, however, Purūravas placed the fire in the forest itself and proceeded to the town only along with the son. When he came back he saw that the fire had already gone. Purūravas went back to the gandharvas and they told him now to prepare the upper *araṇi* (the fire-churning rod) from *Aśvattha* and also the lower *araṇi* from the same wood; for that was the way to become a gandharva.

The account, as can be seen, extols the cult of fire; but is in itself confused. The following doubts persist in our mind, and the impression that we get is that the account was the production of a half-digested former account, that of the *Ṛgveda*. The points that arise and remain hanging are :—

(i) Why should Urvaśī have an ewe with two lambs at her Cot (*avir dvy 'uraṇa śayana upa-baddhā-sa*).

(ii) What happened to the ewe when the lambs were stolen?

(iii) Why should Urvaśī call the lambs her sons (*me. . . .putram haranti*)? Was Urvaśī herself identified with an ewe at the time of the Brāhmaṇa?

(iv) Why was Purūravas called after one full year, and that too for one night only, to share the bed with Urvaśī? (*saṁvatsaratamīm rātrim āgacchatāt. tam me ekām rāirim ante śayitāse*).

(v) Why was Purūravas to get his son (conceived one year back!) only at this next year's union with his wife?

(vi) Why should Purūravas leave the valuable fire, obtained with difficulty from the gandharvas, outside the habitat and proceed only with his son ?

(vii) What was the age of the son ?—he is said to be " *kumāra* " and not " *śiśu* ", which would suit the one year old child ?

(viii) What did Purūravas actually want—continued stay with his beloved Urvaśī, gandharvahood or the son ? The account lays stress actually on being a gandharva ; for Purūravas leaves the son behind in his house ; and the account closes with the didactic note that a person sacrificing thus gets the state of the gandharvas (*teneṣṭvā gandharvāṇām eko bhavati*) and even Purūravas asks the boon that he be made one of the gandharvas (*yuṣmākam eko 'sāni*). and

(ix) Why should a wife (Urvasī)ask her husband to beat her ?

From a close examination of the account of the Brāhmaṇa the points that suggest are—

(i) The birth of the son is unimportant ; the son probably came from a word that was misunderstood : or, the son is none else than Agni himself ; for Purūravas actually appears to exchange the son with Agni ;

(ii) Purūravas gains superhuman powers by a particular ritual ;

(iii) This ritual is closely associated with the next year's sexual union with Urvaśī, who is to meet him exactly after one year ; and this ritual is necessary for his gaining the gandharvahood (and gain Urvaśī permanently ?);

(iv) Purūravas remains naked and Urvaśī departs ; impliedly, both were naked in the night and had the union, which they would have again *only after one full year* ;

(v) The stealing of the lambs and the flash of the lightning appear to be confused ideas suggested from some portion from the *Ṛgveda* that was unclear.

The Brāhmaṇa says that (originally) the hymn in the *Ṛgveda* had only fifteen verses, while the *Ṛgveda* has actually eighteen verses. As the Brāhmaṇa quotes only a few verses it is difficult to say which verses were added to the original fifteen. Now, we give below a translation of the hymn, leaving doubtful and debatable passages to be discussed later.

1. *Purūravas* :—

Harken (*mánasā tiṣṭha*) O venerable (ghore) wife ! may we, indeed, mix our speech (may we converse) ;

These *mantra*-s of ours, if not uttered (now) might not gladden us on the
days to follow.

2. *Urvaśī*

What shall I do with this speech of yours ; gone am I like the first of the
dawns ;

Get gone to your abode, Purūravas ! Difficult to attain am I like the wind.

3. *Pūruravas* :—

The shaft darts not from the quiver for weal ; the speed (or the speedy
one—*rámhiḥ*) is not the gainer of a hundred and of cows.

In the fruitless sacrifice there be no lustre ; as the ewe (?) the "thun-
derers" express (not) thunder (roar).

(*avī're krátau ví davidyutat ná-úrā ná māyúm citayanta dhúnayaḥ*[5]

4. *Urvaśī* : –

Bestowing shining nourishment for the "Father-in-law",
When he desired, O Uṣas !, from the anti-chamber (*ánti-gṛhāt*),
I resorted to the abode as he (Purūravas) longed for ;
"pierced with the cane-rod" was I, by day and by night ![6]

5. *Urvaśī* (contd.) :—

Thrice a day did you "pierce me with the cane-rod" ;
Indeed, you (did) fill me "unstirring" (*ávyatyai*) as I was ;
At your bidding did I arrive, O Purūravas !
Of my body were you the lord, then !

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[5] In spite of the particle *na* coming after, I have preferred to take the meaning to be negative, and not showing comparison. I have preferred to follow Sāyaṇa. Geldner takes *na* as showing comparison at *a* and *b* but, he finds it difficult to complete the sentence for want of the *upameya*. At *d*, where also he takes *na* to indicate the comparison, the sentence is complete; but his rendering of the "*dhunayaḥ*". as "Spielleute" (bandsmen) is not at all happy. The fact is that this epithet comes only for the Maruts, an important fact Geldner has missed. His suggestion that the "*dhunayaḥ*" are the Gandharvas is based on the Brāhmaṇic tale, the validity of which we have already questioned. The sense of the word has to be fixed from the *Ṛgveda*. "Die Spielleute verstanden es wie ein Schaf zu blöken" of Geldner does not even tally with the Brāhmaṇic account, as there the lambs, or the sheep, are not said to bleat. Moreover, the word *māyu* comes only for the cows (ṚV. VII. 103. 2; I. 164.28, 29; and the only other place is the present one). The Maruts are *go-mātaraḥ* (I. 85. 3). Hence they can produce *māyu*.

[6] The *Anukramaṇī* attributes this verse to Urvaśī, Shroeder and Oldenberg to Purūravas. Geldner does not attribute it to anybody; and for *úṣaḥ* (at b) he has "Liebhaber" (lover or admirer) which is unwarranted, in view of *úṣaḥ* coming as the vocative for *Uṣás* (*ṚV.* I, 48.4; 9 etc.) at the hymns for that deity. The implication will be clear in our discussion further. The verbal form "*nanakṣe*" in the verse is such, as could suit the first or the third person—"*astam nanakṣe*". The form "*cākan*" ("*yasmin cākan*" comes as in the second and also in the third person (I. 33.14, I. 174.5, X.148.1). In the event of its being taken as in the second person, the expression may be taken as addressed to Purūravas.

6. *? ?*—(Priest ?—or *Purūravas* ?) :

Neither the *su-jūrṇí* (old one) *śreṇi*, *sumné-āpi* (friend in-gain), ***hradé-cakṣu*** (pool-eye), nor the *granthínī* (blocked, or the blocking one) get moving :

Streamed not the speckeled ones (*añjáyaḥ*), nor the tawny (*aruṇayáḥ*); Bellowed not the cows, that would have delivered (*dhenavaḥ*) (or, bellowed not they like the cows delivered of the calves—. .*na sasruḥ, śriyé gā'vo ná dhenávo 'navanta*)[7]

7. *Priest* (?) :—

As he was being born, the divine females (*gnā'ḥ*) assembled;
Him, indeed, the self-roaring rivers welcomed;
As, for the great battle (*mahé ráṇāya*), O Purūravas !
For the "*dasyu-hátya*" did the gods nourish you.

8. *Purūravas* :—

Towards the divine females, leaving their form, as did the mortal advance
(*ámānuṣīṣu mā'nuṣo nīṣeve*),
Away from me, like the female-deer, did they flee—
Aye, like the chariot-pressed mares !

9. Among the divine females, as the mortal was about to touch,
(*yád āsu márto 'mṛ'tāsu ni-spṛ'k*),
Mixing with the divine ladies, as if, through sacrifice
(*sam kṣonī'bhiḥ krátubhir ná pṛṅkté*).
Like the water-birds did they adorn their bodies ;
Like the playful mares, biting their lips time and again (in bashfulness !)

10. Like the flying lightning did she shine,
She—the water-bess (*ápyā*)—accomplishing my desires !
Le ! The "*apáḥ-náryaḥ*" was, (indeed), born ;
Urvaśī did further extend the life (by blessing me) ! !
(*prá-urváśī tirata dīrghám ā'yuḥ*)

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[7] Even here the use of *na* is doubtful. Thus *Sujūrṇiḥ*......(etc.). *hrade-cakṣur na*; or "*tā añjayo aruṇayo na sasruḥ*". Sāyaṇa takes the first *na* in the sense of collection (*samuccaya*, i.e. "and"), while Geldner in the sense of "like", which is the general way. I have followed Sāyaṇa, with his suggestion of contrastive explanation (*vyatireka dṛṣṭānta*). The sense could be taken also without the negative *na*; but I suggest, as I have discussed further, this to be a part of the past recollection (last ritual) when these female attendants (aspects) of Urvaśi actually rushed to the "*asta*" (v. 4) of Purūravas like (*na*) the reddish "speckled ones" (*aruṇayaḥ* and *añjayaḥ*); and they had actually bellowed like the milkful cows (having calves) for weal (*śriye gāvo na dhenavo anavanta*). But that was on the last occasion, which contrasts with the present one when there is negation (v. 3).

11. *Urvaśī* :—
Thus were you born, Purūravas ! indeed, for "*go-pī'thya*".
You have established the lustre in me (*dadhā'tha me ójaḥ*);
Knower as I be, I advised you on all such days (*sásminn áhan*)
Have you heard me not ?—why speak un-enjoyedly (*abhúk*) ?

12. *Purūravas* :—
When might the "son", being born, desire the "Father"?
cakrán na (? like an active performer), might he, the knowing one,
"turn the *aśru*" (?) !(*áśru vartayad vi-jānán*)
Who would separate the like-minded couple ?....
Indeed, when the Fire shines among the "Fathers-in-law"! (*ádha yad agníḥ śváśureṣu dī'dayat*)

13. *Urvaśī* :—
May I promise, he shall "turn the *aśru*";
cakrán na (? like an active performer) might he "roar";
for the auspicious *ādhi* (*krandad ādhyé śivā'yai*);
That I shall I send unto you, what be yours with us;
Get gone home; me you shall not get, O mortal (*mūra*)[8]

14. *Purūravas* :—
The *su-devá* might fly, being *ánāvṛt* (naked? = *an* + *ā*√*vṛ* + *Kvip*)
To reach the highest region (*parāvátam paramā'm*);
He might sleep in the lap of Nirṛti;
May the fierce wolves eat of him!

15. *Urvaśī* :—
Die not, Purūravas ! fly not !!
May not the fierce wolves eat of you;
(But)—indeed, female-friendships are not (lasting);
These be the hearts of the fierce beasts !!!

16 When, in a different form, did I wander among the mortals,
I dwelt for four nights in the autumn;
Small portion of *ghṛta* did I partake a day;
Hence, indeed, do I wander—extremely satisfied !

17. *Purūravas* :—
Enveloper of the mid-region, traverser of the *rájas*, (as she is)

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[8] The word "*mūra*" has been generally rendered as "*mūḍha*" (a fool; Geldner "Tor"); but at other places Sāyaṇa nimself derives it from √*mṛ* "to die" (ṚV. X, 87.2 *mūra-devān* = "*māraka-vyāpāran*"; also *Ibid* 14). At all places the sense of "mortal" suits perfectly well; and I have discussed it elsewhere, "Ṛgvedāntila Yatu āṇi Yātudhāna" (Marathi), *Nava-Bhārata*, Bombay, June, 1964.

Urvaśī do I control (*úpa śikṣāmi*; cf. Sāyaṇa);
May the gift of the sacrifice (*sukṛtásya rātíḥ*) belong to you;
Return—my heart is getting heated (excited)!

18. Thus said unto you the gods, O Aiḷa (son of Iḷā),
Though it be that you are the Death-kin (*mṛtyú-bandhuḥ*)
To the gods shall your progeny sacrifice with offerings;
In the heaven, to wit, will you enjoy !!

As we start with analysing the hymn the points that appear to be clear enough are that :—

(i) Purūravas entreats upon Urvaśī to arrive for reasons that are embodied in verses 2 and 3 ;

(ii) Memories of the last contact with Urvaśī, when she stayed in the house of Purūravas;

(iii) The extolment of the birth of Purūravas, suggesting his greatness and the powers he wielded ;

(iv) Purūravas could go to the divine damsels, who are said to blush at his advances, and are compared with the water-birds and the active mares ;

(v) Urvaśī could guide Purūravas and the latter, on his part, could control her, with the heat of his heart (v. 17) ; also, Urvaśī could stay among the mortals in a different form.

The points that are common with the account of the Brāhmaṇa :—

(i) Purūravas gains superhuman powers in the Brāhmaṇic account, by the fire-ritual ; here he is already said to be born for great deeds ;

(ii) In the Brāhmaṇic account Purūravas is asked to come after one year ; their earlier contact would, thus, be exactly one year before ; here there is reference to her last visit for four nights in the Autumn ; there, after one year's arrival there is the union for the night, while here he says he controls her, and that she should arrive, probably, for this year's autumn !

(iii) The nakedness of Purūravas is suggested here in the word "*anāvṛt*" meaning "un-covered" or, "non-covering" (*an* + *ā* + √ *vṛ* + *kvip* and the augment *t*).

(vi) The ewe and the lambs in the Brāhmaṇa are suggested from the word *urā* in v. 3, as we shall see further ;

(v) The *kumāra* (son) is suggested from the "son-father" motif in verse 12 ; we shall examine it further ; but the return of the son after one year is suggested from v. 13—
"that I shall send unto you .... " etc.

The most important point is the yearly meeting and the sexual note in the account that occurs at both the places. The thing to be noted is, that the Brāhmaṇic account retains a hazy memory of the old tale, but indicates that it pertained to a certain yearly ritual in which the main actors became united. Now, there is no other help beyond this ; and we have to thoroughly analyse the hymn itself to get through the mist of seeming confusion.

Let us first see what the hymn has to say about the hero—Purūravas. As he was to be born, the goddesses sat around him or attended on him. He was also welcomed for "*ráṇa*" and the "*dasyu-hátya*" ; also at his birth the rivers welcomed him. Which are the rivers, and why should they be joyous at the birth of Purūravas, as they are said to be ? Now, a similar description appears at the birth of Indra (ṚV. IV.18.5 ; 6). Again, it has to be noted that expression "*dasyu-hátya*", along with "*jajñiṣe*" (v. 11) comes only for Indra (ṚV. I.56.6), the god primarily of the mid-region, according to the Vedic tradition, (cf. I.103.4). As "*dasyu-hátya*" is the unique exploit of Indra (the word does not come for any other deity or person), we may not be wrong in supposing that the "*ráṇa*" and the "*dasyu-hátya*" for which Purūravas is said to have been specially born, and congratulated by the gods, takes the scene of his activity to the mid-region. As here we have a direct reference (in the 2nd P.) to the birth of Purūravas (v. 7), followed by the mention of his exploits of "touching" the immortal females, and of their blushes (vs. 8-9), the same direct reference is to be found at a further verse (11, *jajñiṣé itthā' go-pī'thyāya*). Thus the thought of his birth extends to this verse ; and it is mixed with the sexual note of his association with the immortal females, who, without any hesitation, have to be taken to belong to the mid-region ! This also indicates that an earlier reference to a birth (v. 10), though in the third person, must be taken to refer to Purūravas himself (*jániṣṭo apó náryaḥ sú-jātaḥ*), in view of his being referred to in the third person earlier (v. 8 *ámānuṣīṣu mānuṣo niṣeve, and márto 'mṛ'tāsu nispṛ'k*). This means that Purūravas himself is the "*apáḥ náryaḥ sú-jātaḥ*". We have seen how Purūravas has been described in the garb of the mid-region god—Indra. Now we examine the epithet "*apáḥ náryaḥ*", to fix the image of the seer. The expression "*apáḥ náryaḥ*" does not occur elsewhere in the *Ṛgveda* ; but, there is not the least doubt that the seer is coining a new expression here on the analogy of a well set style. Thus Agni is called "*náryāpasa*" (ṚV. VIII.93.1) ; and Indra is referred to as the *only* "*náryápāṁsi kartā*" (VIII.96.19 to be dissolved as *naryā* (*ṇi*) *apāṁsi*), where, in the same hymn further, we have about him "*kṛṇvánn ápāṁsi náryā purū'ṇi*" (*Ibid* v. 21). Likewise Indra is said to hold his bolt "*náryápāṁsi kártave*" (ṚV. I.85.9, and Macdonell *naryā-apāṁsi*, *Vedic Reader*). The expression in all cases is only with Indra (cf. IV.19.10 ; VII.21.4 etc.). Though the word *nárya* may be taken to give the meaning of "benevolent to mankind" (Sāyaṇa), it has to be noted that it comes not only for the deities or a sacrificer, but also for wealth, a chariot (ṚV. VI.53.2 ; VII.48.1 respectively), for a mortal (VI.23.4) ; and it comes once even for Vṛtra (X.147.1), which goes against its being rendered as above, unless, of course, we extend the idea of Vṛtra being useful to mankind in his defeat by Indra and letting loose the fertilizing waters ! The concept behind the epithet, unalloyed by any doubt, then, seems to be of power. The word "*opás*" (with the change or shift of the accent in *ápas* indicates the agent ; and the expression "*náryaḥ apáḥ*" would indicate "a powerful and active person". This, with what we have noted about "*dasyu-hátya*", would give the idea of a powerful person who could control the mid-region and the mid-region water-streams'. Purūravas , then, presents the idea of a wonder worker, who was designed by the gods as such. Even being a mortal, he could control the upper region. The idea is familiar to the *Ṛgveda* in the word "*dvi-bárhas*" or "*dvi-bándhu*", who could control the two worlds (earth and the mid-region), and gain the milk of the "*Sabardughā*", which is rain, as is well attested by Vedic scholars and the tradition. It is this image of Purūravas that makes the seer announce his birth with an eloquent surprise in "*jániṣṭe*" (v. 10, *janiṣṭa-u, u* denoting the surprise). And, at this juncture precisely, and in the middle of the hymn, Urvaśī is mentioned for the first time with the typical Ṛgvedic style of benediction "*tirata dīrghám ā'yuḥ*". It should be noted that the birth of Purūravas is not at the moment ; but the recollection is that the birth was indeed, great ! Urvaśī is ushered in after the description of Purūrava's advances towards the mid-region damsels ; and she comes in as their mistress !

The following is said about Urvaśī in the present context :—

(i) She is *ápyā*—i.e. she has association with water, or *antarikṣa* (mid-region);

(ii) She flies or falls like the lightning, implying that she is not herself lightning (as Karambelkar thinks);

(iii) She fulfils the desire of Purūravas (cf. v. 10 *bhárantī me ápyā kā'myāni*);

(iv) She is of a benevolent nature (*prá tirata dīrghám ā'yuḥ'*), which precludes her being cruel; and the earlier epithet "*ghore*" cannot be taken to give that sense; and, lastly,

(v) She is the traverser of the mid-region (*antarikṣa-prā'*), and the measurer of the *rájas* (*rájaso vimā'nī*).

Some of the words need attention. The expression "*bháranti me ápyā kā'myāni*" can give two senses—(i) Urvaśī is *ápyā* and fulfils desires; or (ii) Urvaśī fulfils the desires that are *ápyā* (i.e. *apyāni>apyā,* with the case termination dropped). Now *ápyā* gets connected with the mid-region (Sāyaṇa, "*apaḥ iti* *antarikṣa nāma* ") or with *apás* (water), giving the idea of water from the mid-region. Elsewhere, in the Yama-Yamī-context, we have the *ápyā yóṣā*, along with the Gandharva, directly connected with the waters, which are, obviously, of the mid-region (ṚV. X. 10.4, *gandharvó apsú-ápyā ca yóṣā*). The Gandharva and the *ápyā yóṣā* are said to be the parents of Yama and Yamī (*ibid*), which deftly suggests the image of the seer of that hymn about the famous twins, hinting at the association of the mid-region waters and the sexy language of the hymn. Elsewhere, where, in the very previous verse we have the mention of the Bull (Sun or Parjanya) " milking " the heavenly fluid, there is the mention of the " *ápyā yōṣaṇā gandharvī'* " speaking to the tunes of the " thunderer " (ṚV. X. 11.1; 2 *vṛṣā vṛṣṇe duduhe dóhasā divaḥ páyāmsi* and *rápad gandharvī'r ápyā ca yōṣaṇā nadásya nādé*). The *ápyā yóṣaṇā* speaking to the tunes of the " thunderer " indicates a cosmic couple engaged in the cosmic dialogue. It is this image that the seer of the Yama-Yamī hymn and that of the Purūravas-hymn seem to exploit, the motif being of the sex-pair—cosmic represented in the ritual! The *ápyā* Urvaśī is the mid-region immortal counterpart of Purūravas, at whose birth the " rivers " assemble, giving the divine setting to the mortal. Being born for the *go-pī'thya* (for the protection of the earth-cow) by ushering in the divine water-bess to shower the mid-region water-streams, he is also the *nárya* in the secondary sense of " *narebhyaḥ hitaḥ* ".

The other epithets of Urvaśī viz. " *antarikṣa-prā'* " and " *rájaso vimā'nī* " are also interesting. The first (*antarikṣaprā*) comes only for Indra, Soma and Savitṛ (ṚV. I.51.2; IX.86.14 and VII.45. 1 respectively), while the other is fairly common, but prominent with the atmospheric fire (III.26.7), Soma (IX.62.14) and the solar deity Vena, who is said to impel the waters from the interior of the cloud-cow in the " *rájaso vimā'na* " (X.123.1 *ayám venáś codayat pṛ'śni-garbhā jyótir-jarāyū rájase vimā'ne*). He is described as the *śiśu* dwelling in the confluence of the Sun and the cosmic waters (*imám ápām saṅgamé sū'ryasya śíśum na*). This " child " dwelling in the *rájase vimā'na* is obviously an aspect of the ' Water-fire '—the *jala grabha* ! Or, in the words in the Vedic tradition, " *apā'm gárbha* " (ṚV. I.164.52), or " *apā'm nápāt* ". Urvaśī is the female counterpart of this lofty principle, a mixture of water and fire in the cosmos. Lightning is only one aspect of hers. Her attendants are the cosmic water-nymphs, and are rightly compared with the water-birds (*ātáyaḥ*) and mares, another symbol for the streams (cf. ṚV, VII.87.1; X.5.2). Urvaśī, thus, far surpasses the image of the lightning. To say that " whether the word Urvaśī comes in the *Ṛgveda*, we have the word *vidyut* " (Karambelkar) is un-correct. Actually Urvaśī comes only in four hymns and six times. Out of these only twice we have the word *vidyut*; but even here once it comes as the standard of comparison (X.95.10) which shows that she is not the lightning; and at the other place, it appears faintly that Vasiṣṭha mixes the image of Urvaśī with that of the lightning; but this is, probably, due to her aspect of the mistress of the cosmic water that generates the lightning. At the rest of the places not only Urvaśī does not come with the word *vidyut*; but, on the contrary, *vidyut* is not mentioned at all in the whole of the hymn (IV.2; V.41). The verb " *davidyot* " (X.95.10) can hardly be taken, by itself, to indicate the lightning; for it occurs at various places, where there is no trace at all of either Urvaśī or the lightning (VI.16.54 ; VII.10.1 ; X.43.4 etc.). The epithet "*ghore*" cannot be taken to be applied " only " to the lightning; for Indra and the Aṅgirases are often called by that epithet. Even the benevolent Sarasvatī is so called (VI.61.7). To identify Urvaśī with the lightning is, thus, below the mark; for she is the female spirit of the cosmic mid-region waters. This will be supported also from other references to her. Thus she is associated with the rivers (V.41.19 *nadī'bhir urvā́śī vā gṛṇātu*), and there itself it is indicated that the rivers are the cosmic or mid-region-dwelling (*urvā́śī vā bṛhaddivā'*). It has to be remembered that Urvaśī is not one; we have the concept of many such Urvaśī-s (ṚV. IV.2.18 *mártānām cid urvásīṛ akṛpran*). These many Urvaśīs, obviously are the many aspects of the concept of the water-lady, who controls the waters.· In our hymn the indication to this effect, in addition to the image of the water-birds and the mares, is to be found in the various females viz. *Su-jūrṇí* (ancient one), *Śréṇi* (the elongated one), *Summé-āpi* (the gain-kin), *Hradé-cakṣu* (pool-eye) suggesting the light (fire) in the water etc., all being the *añjáyaḥ* and *aruṇayā́ḥ* (speckled and red[9]; and all, then, are compared to the cows (a set method of) indicating the cloud-cows, with the idea of the thundering (*anavanta*).

It will only be proper here to discuss the point of the son of Urvaśī. The Brāhmaṇa does not mention the name of this son ; and says that Purūravas carried the *kumāra*. In the *Mahābhārata* he is said to be Āyu (Ādi 75.24 ; Śānti 166.74 etc.). We have noted the doubtful implication of the word *kumāra*; and in the hymn as such there is no clear mention of the son Āyu. Moreover, if Urvaśī is the mid-region female, and, obviously, only in concept, a real son being born from this conceptual female is impossible ! The birth of a son (if at all he be taken as a real son), hence, can be only through the agency of a mortal woman who was supposed to be the cosmic woman. This representation of the cosmic lady can only be on the ritual-plane ; and this is clear from the mention of such words as " *kratu* " (v. 3 ; 9), " *sukṛtásya rātíḥ* " (v. 17), " *mántrāḥ* " (v. 1), the reference to the " four autumnal nights " (v. 16) and the clear statement of sacrificial offerings (v. 18 and the last, *prajā' te devā'n*

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[9] The *añjayaḥ* and *aruṇayaḥ* appear to be the dawns with whom the various females in the verse are compared; this goes also well with the mention of *Uṣas* in the previous verse (v. 4). For these words as epithets of Uṣas cf. VII. 78.1 for *aruṇayaḥ*, and for the other X.15.7, with the mixed image of the actual flames; I.121,3; cf. IV.1.16;-2.16;-14.3. Here they probably indicate the flashes of the lightning, in respect of the " bellowing cows " coming just after.

havíṣā yajāti). Now the question is, how comes Āyu in the later tradition ? The reason appears to be in the passages of *Ṛgveda* where Urvaśī comes along with the word *āyu*, the meaning of the latter word being misunderstood. Thus, Urvaśī (plural) is said to favour the mortals and impel the "upper *āyu*" (ṚV. IV.2.18 *mártānām cid urváśīr akṛpran vṛdhé cid aryá ūparasya āyóḥ*) and she is said to be covering the "*prabhṛthá āyú*" (V. 41.19). Now, Āyu is associated with the gods Mitra, Maruts, Varuṇa, Aryaman, Rudra and Indra, (ṚV. I.162.1 ; V. 41.2), who barring the doubtful case of Varuṇa are the gods of the mid-region ; and *uparasya* has a parallel (ṚV.I.104.4, IV.2.18). It is pertinent to note that the word *upara* indicates, in certain places in the Ṛgvedic thought, a peculiar image viz. the upper fluid-controller (the Sun or the cloud-fire ; X.27.20 *sū'raś ca marká úparo babhūvā'n*). The pressing stones are said to be *sūrya-śvítaḥ* ; and to generate profuse " semen ", resorting to the abode of the " *upara* " (X 94.5 *nyáṅ ní-yanty ' úparasya niṣkṛtám purú réto dadhire sūrya-śvítaḥ*), where the " *rétas* " is the fluid of Soma. The idea is only another shade of the thought " this Soma is the semen of the secreting horse (Sun) " (I.164.35 *ayám sómo vṛ'ṣṇo áśvasya rétaḥ*). Here " *upara* " and the sun get identified ; and elsewhere we have the image of the gods Aryaman, Varuṇa and Parijman (Vāyu) mixing the hide (!) at the fountain of the " *upara* " (the cloud I.79.3 ; cf. also V.44 2 ; cf. also I.104.4 *yuyópa nā'bhir úparasya āyóḥ*, where the context is that of Kuyava and his wives—Añjasī, Kuliśī and Vīra-patnī —controlling the cosmic waters, *páyo hinvānā' udábhir bharante*). The *prabhṛthá Āyú* and the " *úpara Āyú* " are concepts similar to each other (*prabhṛthá* indicates the sacrifice at certain places ; cf. ṚV. II 34.11 ; V.41.4 ;-33.5 ; VII.40.5 ; and, by transfer of image, the cosmic sacrifice, in which the " *úpara* " (lightning fire, here) has an important place). Āyu, as the son of Urvaśī, came due to the confusion of these Ṛgvedic passages. There is no mention of any other son of Urvaśī, barring, of course, Vasiṣṭha (VII. 33.10), which has only figurative importance (though the *Mahābhārata* mentions her six sons from Purūravas, Ādi 75.24-25).

What has been said above will be enough to show that the seer uses the well set image of Urvaśī as the water-bess, closely associated with the mid-region streams. To this he adds Purūravas; and, if according to the maxim "*yasya vākyam sa ṛṣiḥ* " (one who speaks is the seer), Purūravas himself is the seer, it is clear that he has exploited this image for certain aim. The divine Urvaśī cannot be the seer; and it is only proper to take the mortal Purūravas to be the seer. In that case, what has been attributed to Urvaśī also is his own vision in the trance; and, as there seems to be a definite method in the " trance,[10] " we can safely say that it had a purpose. Let us examine.

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[10] See my paper " The Vision of Vasukra " *J. Uni. Bombay*, Vol. XL, No. 76, October, 1971, pp. 1-26.

To start with, we must recall to our memory that Purūravas describes himself as on par with Indra or the mid-region fire, that he has born on purpose, and that, though a mortal, he can transcend to the upper region. With this let us now go back to the hymn. Purūravas entreats upon Urvaśī to arrive, as she had done and stayed with him (for a similar purpose) earlier in the autumn. This time there seems to be a special reason. There is indication of this reason in the hymn; and we have hinted at it earlier. Verse 3 has to be marked again for this purpose. It has certain new images—(i) the arrow does not fly for glory or gain from the quiver (*íṣur na śriyé iṣudhér asanā'* ;(ii) the speedy one does not gain the thousand and the cows (*go-ṣā'ḥ śata-sā' na' rámhiḥ*); (iii) the *kratu* is, hence, fruitless (or, "without a strong one", *avīra*); (iv) the *úrā* (does not show herself)-and (v) the "thunderers" do not express, or show the roar (*ná māyúm citayanta dhúnayaḥ*). Now one thing has to be noted here The particle *ná* gives two senses(i) that of comparison; and (ii) that of negation. Coming after a noun it is likely to be taken in the first sense; but that is apt to be misleading. The verse forms the reason for the request of Purūravas; and to this Urvaśī replies reminding him of the last time she had arrived, when she brought *vásu* (wealth) to the "Father-in-law" (!), and when Purūravas had been the lord of her body. After this there is again the statement of negation—that the various attendants (females) did not move, the actual word being "*ná sasruḥ*" (did not flow), indicating the females to be fluid. They are the mid-region water-streams conceived as females as we have already noted. There itself we hear that the "cows" did not bellow (*śriyē gā'vo ná dhenáve 'navanta'*.[11] This gives the following parallelogram :—

Verse 3	*Verse* 6
1. *śriyé*	1. *śriyé*
2. the shaft did not go (*íṣur ná iṣudhér asanā'*)	2. Did not flow *ná sasruḥ*
3. Thunderers did not show the roar (*māyúm ná citayanta dhúmayaḥ*)	3. The pregnant cows belowed not (*gā'vo ná dhenávo 'navanta*)

This will show the scheme of the seer's images.

This is immediately followed by the reference to the advances of Purūravas towards the females of the upper region, the contrast in sex being that he is the mortal, yet of immense power (vs.7-9). This, again, refers to the last experience of the advent of Urvaśī, when he had actually controlled her, as she herself accepts (v. 11) ; for he says with confidence that she had arrived like the lightning "fulfilling my desires" (v. 10). She was "*ápyā*" ; hence could cause the "cows" to bellow and the "thunderers" to "roar", and also cause the

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[11] See above note 7, for alternative rendering of *na*, which however does not disturb the image and the explanation.

" females of the cosmos " to " flow ". On the basis of a well set imagery, the " flowing females " here and the " thunderers " are the cloud-cows. We may refer only to the " *Asya vāmīya* " for the cloud-cow symbolism, where it has reached culmination (ṚV. 1.164.28; 29, and the last verse there, which speaks of the *apām garbha*). We shall further examine the concept of " *dhúnayaḥ* " shortly; but the image in " *ná māyúm citayanta* " compares exactly with the " cow " about which is said " *mímāti māyúm páyate pāyobhiḥ* " (ṚV. I. 164.28) and " *mímāti māyúm dhvasánāv-ádhi śritā'* " (*Ibid.* 29) with the complex image of the Cloud-cow and the thundering mid-region Speech ; and there itself, in the very next line we have her frightening the mortals with her " *citti* " (flashes), which compares with " *cita-yanta* " in our context, being herself the lightning (*sā' cittíbhir ní hí cakā'ra mártyam, vidyúd bhávantī*). In " *páyate páyobhiḥ* " there is the suggestion of the falling rain, while in " *mímāti māyúm* " we have the image of the thunder, the idea being further extended in the thunder and the lightning in the next verse.

Now about the " *dhúnayaḥ* ". The word is familiar with the description of the Maruts (ṚV. I.64.5 ; V.60 7 ; VI.66.10 ; X.78.3 ; also I.87.3 ; V.87.3). The rivers (in the mid-region) are *dhúni-matī* (ṚV. I. 174.9 = VI.20.12) Thus the " *dhúnayaḥ* " in our hymn are the Maruts who bring the streaming rain-waters. When they did not appear, the " cows " did not thunder, which means that the rains were not (or should not be) in the offing even when expected. The whole stage was a negative setting. This was the " *a-vīra kratu* "; for Urvaśī, the water-bess, was difficult to attain as she had fled like the wind ! (v. 2). If we examine the line " *avī're krátau vi davidyutan ná, úrā ná māyúm citayanta dhúnayaḥ* " a point presents itself. The verb " *ná citayanta* " has the word *dhunayaḥ* as the subject; but what about the subject of " *davidyutat,* " or, properly speaking " *ví davidyutan ná* " ? Sāyaṇa supplies " my valour " (*mama sāmarthyam*); but it seems to be unwarranted; for his rendering is beset with difficult improbabilities.[11a] Might we split as—

avī're krátau ví davidyutan ná ūra,
ná māyúm citayanta dhúnayaḥ ?

which requires *úrā* in the next hemistich to be taken as the subject with the earlier one. In that case, could it be that *úrā* stands here for the water-mistress, Urvaśī herself ? Might the seer not be having this mixed image for Urvaśī ? The *Ṛgveda* actually uses the idea for a woman. Thus the lady Romaśā is said to be (or says about herself that she is) an ewe (ṚV. I.126.7 *sárvā-hámasmi*

[11a] He renders the word *urā* as " *vistīrṇe saṅgrāme* ", reading it as " *urau* " (loc. Sing. with the tremination dropped !) and *dhunayaḥ* as " our warriors ", with Purūravas, whom, like others, he takes as a real king. The implication of " king " will be clear further. With *dhunayaḥ* cf. X.27.18, *vi krośanāsaḥ*.

romaśā' gandhā'rīṇām-iva-avikā'). At any rate, how did the Brāhmaṇa, noted above, get the idea of the ewe with a pair of lambs (*avir dvy 'uraṇā*)? There is reason to believe that the seer identifies Urvaśī with the *urā*; for both are associated in the hymn with the same root with practically the same form :—

avī're krátau ví davidyutan na-úrā (v. 3)
and *vidyùn na yā' pátantī dávidyot* (Urvaśī)—(v. 10)

The forms *davidyutat* (/*n*) and *davidyot* are remarkably similar; and we might not be wrong if we suspect the seer's intention for word-play ! At least, it will not be unsafe to believe that upto the time of the Brāhmaṇa Urvaśī was associated (and identified !) with the ewe. With her association with the waters in the mid-region, did the seer use *úrā* (Urvaśī) as the symbol of the cloud—like that of the " pregnant cow " ?

Any way, the discussion uptil now would make it clear that Purūravas wants Urvaśī to favour him by her return, so that the *kratu,* which is fruitless (*avīra* or without the required strength) should be fruitful and the " cows " should thunder and the *dhúnayaḥ* (Maruts or the clouds of thundering rain) should present themselves. His qualifications to be favoured by Urvaśī, or even to control her, are clear in his ability to have flight to the land of the divine females ; and it is clear in the hymn that Urvaśī had actually arrived at his command, on an earlier occasion (v. 4.16). On this basis, now, we have to examine the hypothesis of the death of Purūravas—may be as a sacrificial victim (" husband " acc. to Kosambi, and " great " acc. to Karambelkar), or a mortal seer " doomed " to his natural death (acc. to Goldman). The basis of this hypothesis of death are such words in the hymn as " *párā-ihi ástam* " (return home) and " *púnar ástam párā-ihi* " (v. 13 and 2). According to Kosambi,[12] these words do not mean simply " go home ", but indicate the resort to be the heavenly abode, for which he cites the funerary verse (X. 14.8). The verse, however, does not appear to give that sense. It says— " Join with the *pitṛ*-s ; with Yama ; with virtuous deeds in that high abode leaving the blemish, come home again ; assume body being lustrous " (the rendering is without any added polish). The original verse is :—

sám gacchasva pitṛ'bhiḥ sám yaména-
isṭā-purtē'na paramé vy 'óman ;
hitvā'yā-vadyám púnar ástam éhi (*ā'-ihi* is the *Padapāṭha*)
sám gacchasva tanvā' su-vā'rcāḥ.

Now, at the outset, what is the meaning of the words " *ā'-ihi* " ? It does not mean " go back "[13] ; it means " come back ". The idea is that the dead person goes to heaven ; unites with his fore-fathers and with Yama ; cleanses his soul of the blemish, if there be any, by means of virtuous deeds there ; takes a new lustre (mark *su-várcā'ḥ*) ; and is re-born to return to his old home. This is the clear meaning of the phrase "*sám gacchasva tanvā'*". The only other place for this expression is also in the context of the dead person, where again it is said that he should return with new life to his remains (or son) here, implying his renewed existence (ṚV. X.16.5 *ā'yur vásāna úpa vetu śéṣaḥ, sám gacchatā'm tanvā', jātavedaḥ*).[14] It is this belief that lies at the back of "*ā'-ihi*" (which has to be rendered as "come back" and not as "go back"). It is, hence, clear that the support of the funerary verse is ill-conceived ; for, not only there is no idea of the "final rest" in heaven but also, the very forms "*párā-ihi*"("return" at our hymn) and "*ā'-ihi*" ("come back" in the funerary verse) are opposed to each other. The internal examination of the hymn also shows that the "*asta*" to which Purūravas is asked to return is his usual mortal one. It is the same "*ásta*" to which Urvaśī had arrived, where she was "pierced with the cane-rod".[15] It was his "*ásta*" ; for she says "I came to the *ásta* as you (or he) desired" (*ástam nanakṣe yásmin cākán*). Obviously, to this same *ásta* he wants her to come back ; and to this same, his own, *ásta*, she asks him to return. As Urvaśī is the immortal belle and Purūravas the mortal, he only mentally goes to her as he is said to have advanced to the other immortal females ; and in her

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[12] *Myth and Reality*, p. 56.

[13] Macdonell, *A Vedic Reader*, Reprint 1970, p. 170, Tr. of the verse. It is surprising that Macdonell should have missed the implication of *ā* in " *ā-ihi* "; due to this slip, it is no wonder, he takes the " *astam* " to mean the home of the " Fathers " (indicating the manes).

Geldner rightly renders, "Komm wieder ins Haus", thus taking "*astam*" to refer to the house on the earth; but adds in the foot-note that this return is for the manes-ceremony ("Zur Zeit der Maneopfer") *Der Ṛigveda* 1951, III, p. 144. We are not concerned with the discussion of that passage here; but it will be seen that the expression "*astam ā -ihi*" refers to the abode here on the earth. About the "Maneopfer", it may be noted that the point is not imminent at the cremation; secondly, the manes do not come at this rite with a body; hence "*tanvā su-varcāḥ*" does not go well with the manes. The belief seems to be the expected return of the dead. The point gains a strong support by the then practice of preservaing the bones of the dead in a jar, obviously with the expectation that he will come back. The words "*tanvā sam gaccha*" are to be noted. The idea is of the re-union with the same body and not of assuming a different one; it is only the (spirit) that changes to become clean and shining with the blemish washed !

[14] The word *śeṣaḥ* indicates the son at various places in the *Ṛgveda*. But, what we have said has to be noted. With which body could the dead person be expected to unite? It has to be stressed that in the event of burying, the body is preserved; and even in the case of cremation, there was the custom to place the bones well arranged in jars, shaped according to the sex of the dead (*Āśv. Gr. Sū.* 4.5.2). In the pitcher, on the bones *ghee* was poured; and the *mantra* was "*idam ta ātmanaḥ śarīram*; *ayam ta ātmā*; Thus the *pitcher* = body; and *ghee* = Soul *Bau. Śrau sū, pitṛmedha*, 3-10; also *Śrauta Koṣa* (Poona), I.ii, p. 1089).

[15] This is a sex-symbol standing for the male organ, as Sāyaṇa takes it; of also *Nirukta* III.31. Can we compare here the ritual of piercing the stretched cow-hide by an arrow at the *Mahāvrata*, a sacrifice with prominent sex-symbols? In a Marathi folk-song the "red whip" indicates the male organ. Geldner has "Rute" for *vaitasa*, which means both the rod and the penis.

asking him to return to his own house, there is no speck of his dying ; and his being sacrificed is not supported by this passage.

There is, however, another word which has led Karambelkar to believe that Purūravas was to die sacrificially, as a GOAT. The surmise leans on the etymological meaning of Purūravas (*puru* and *rava*; cf. also *Nirukta* X.46 *bahudhā rorūyate*). But before verifying the probability of Purūravas being a goat, let us examine the epithet "*mṛtyú-bandhu*", which has been taken a prop to the "sacrificial death" theory. This word has a parallel, and the only one and hence important, in "*mṛtyú-bandhavaḥ*" (ṚV. VIII.18.22) which only means "mortal" and nothing more (*yé cid-dhí mṛtyú-bandhava(ḥ) ā'dityā(ḥ) mánavaḥ smási*). This would indicate that "*mṛtyú-bandhu*" in our hymn says nothing more than that Purūravas is only a mortal; and this is in keeping with his image built up in the hymn. And, the hypothesis of his being sacrificed lacking any foundation as we have noted above in the examination of the expression "*ástam párā-ihi*", this place ill supports the surmise of his immediate death. To understand this "goat" as being sacrificed on the analogy of the horse (Karambelkar) is impossible; for the sacrificial horse is never said to be "*mṛtyú-bandhu*"; he is "*devá-bandhu*" (ṚV. I.162.18 *vajíno devá-bandhoḥ*; and earlier *devā'nām puṣṭé cakrumā su-bándhum* at v. 7). To suppose the sacrificial victim to be a death-kin (*mṛtyú-bandhu*) is, it has to be noted, against the very concept of Vedic sacrifice—or, any sacrifice anywhere ! For, in the sacrifice (= a divine dedication) the victim never dies ! The sacrificial victim is consecrated to a god as himself ;[16] and Mṛtyu never comes in the Vedic tradition as an auspicious deity to whom a victim is sacrificed. Even in the funerary context where he comes, he is dreaded; and his steps are sought to be wiped off; his path is different from that of the gods (X. 18.1-4; there is no other hymn or any portion of a hymn addressed to Mṛtyu; Mṛtyu is referred to at other places; but is only dreaded and is sought to be kept aside). This will show that death as the sacrificial context in the epithet "*mṛtyú-bandhu*" is totally unwarranted, and even wrong. Mṛtyu comes in a ritual; but as a symbol for sacrificial rebirth with a divine body to perform the sacrifice, as at the consecration or the rite of initiation (*upa-nayana*).[17] He never comes in the sacrifice as an *end in itself* for the sacrificial victim. There is one more point worth considering. Purūravas is given a boon that he may delight in "*svarga*" (v.18 *svargé u tvám ápi mādayāse*). This expression is not found elsewhere in the *Ṛgveda*; and in the ritual-tradition the word *svarga* does not necessarily mean the actual supra-terrestrial world. It equally indicates the divine plane on the earth viz. the plane of the sacrifice. This is supported by the fact that the sacrificial horse and the queen, in the sex-ritual at the horse-sacrifice, are said to cover themselves up in the "*svarga loka*", as they are covered by a large piece of cloth (*Mait. Sam.* III.12.20 *svarge loke prorṇuvātam*). In that case, in spite of the apparent contrast in "your progeny shall sacrifice to the gods with offerings; and you will enjoy in the *svarga*" (v. 18), the death of Purūravas is without support. All it would indicate is that Purūravas and his progeny will be renowned sacrificers. And if we stick to the literal meaning of *svarga*, it would, at the most, indicate that Purūravas would attain *svarga* when he dies in the natural course of time later on !

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[16] Thus at the *Śūlagava* the bull to be sacrificed is consecrated with the *mantras* for Rudra; and the horse at the Horse-sacrifice represents the sun (or Prajāpati acc. to some).

[17] See my book, *Legends in the Mahābhārata*, Delhi, p. 183ff; also " Death and Re-birth in Initiation Ceremonies ", *Indian Antiquary* Bombay, III series Vol. I-ii , pp. 104-9.

What has been said above will show that Purūravas has to be viewed from a totally different angle. Apart from this hymn he is referred to only once more, where he has the epithet *su-kṛ't* (I.31.4 *purūrávase su-kṛ'te*). The epithet *su-kṛ't* shows two phases in the *Ṛgveda*. In the first phase it comes for such wonder-workers as the Aṅgirases (III.31.12), the *kavi*-s (i.e. divine seers or wise ones (III.38.2, who may be Aṅgirases themselves), the Ṛbhu-s (III.60.3) ; and, in the second phase, it comes for the human sacrificers at almost all the places. This will show that Purūravas had the status of a sacrificer, who, though a mortal, was a semi-divine wonder-worker. It needs be stressed that the word *rājan* does not necessarily mean "king". It is well-known that it comes also for such gods as Agni, Varuṇa, Mitra etc. ; and it has to be remembered that in the hymn under study it comes for Purūravas only in respect of Urvaśī, who says that he is the *rā'jā* of her body (v. 5 *rā'jā mé vīra tanvā's tád āsīh*). The Brāhmaṇa also does not say that he was a king as such. What this shows is that he was the lord of Urvaśī ; and, as she was not a mortal, but only a conceptual water-dame as has been amply proved, he could control her powers by sacrificial wonders. Thus he was a '*marta*' having power to be familiar with the mid-region scene and the water-dames therein. He could mentally touch them at will (*márte mṛ'tāsu nispṛ'k*). This is also indicated by the words "*kratubhir na pṛṅkte*" (v. 9)[18].

There is another word that deserves study ; and it is "*su-devá*", which has been used for Purūravas (v. 14). Now, in all the occurrences of the word the sense seems to be of a fortunate or gifted sacrificer, except for one place where it comes for Varuṇa (VIII.69.12). Our hymn has a prominent sexual note and this fact is accepted by the tradition as also by modern scholars.

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[18] For the style cf. IV.28.3 *krátvā na yātām* and VII.61.2 *krátvā na śarádaḥ pṛnaīthe*. The idea seems to be the same as in "*āvyatai pṛṇāsi*" (v.5). Elsewhere also we have a similar idea of the bull touching or "eying" the cows (X.102.8 *gāḥ paspaśānáḥ*). For the peculiar implication of the expression and the sex simile see my *Vedic Concept of the 'Field' and the Divine Fructification*, Uni. of Bombay, 1971, p. 108-122;

Against this sexual background of the hymn the word *su-deva*, as an epithet for Purūravas, presents an interesting point. This word in a hymn from the later book of the *Ṛgveda* needs be compared with the word as it occurs in the *Atharvaveda*. The context there is that of the *Mahānagnī*; and the expression is "*su-devas tvā mahānagni vi-bādhate*" (AV.XX.136.12). Geldner[19] is perfectly acceptable when he says that the word *su-devá* (here) is the product of the "erotic slang", and that it indicates the "erotischen termini technici"; but, the point is—what is the relationship between Urvaśī and Purūravas in this erotic setting ? Now it is worthy of note that in the Vedic ritual-tradition the term "Mahānagnī" had a definite connotation.[20] She is a ritual-woman and comes as a counterpart of the horse in the sex-contact at the Horse-sacrifice, as is clear in the verses known as the "*āhanasyāḥ*" recited at the horse-sacrifice according to one tradition (ṚV. Khila V. 22; AV. XX. 136). The expression "*sudevas tvā mahānagni vibādhate*" at the AV. exactly corresponds with the expression "*mahān abhijñu bādhate*" (AV. *loc. cit.* v. 15; ṚV. Khila above v. 10), where the "*abhijñu*" is the horse (and, in the original ritual, probably, a man with his knees bent in 'position).'[21] Considering the erotic nature of our hymn, it will be acceptable that the *su-deva* Purūravas has the same sort of sex-association with Urvaśī; and as Mahānagnī is represented by the queen or any other woman in the ritual of the Horse-sacrifice, it is clear that Urvaśī was represented at some such ritual by her counterpart. As there is a clear mention of her arrival among the mortals at the sacrifice where she partook of a little portion of *ghṛta*, staying there for four nights in the autumn (v. 1 6), there is no doubt that she formed the ritual counter-part of Purūravas. This was done in her variant form to suit the mortal—in other words, she came as the mortal woman. This is the implication of the words "*ví-rūpā ácaram mártyeṣu*" (*Ibid*).[22] Purūravas and Urvaśī, thus, formed a ritual-couple; and this is in perfect harmony with the Vedic ritual-tradition. Thus, the horse and the queen at the Horse-sacrifice formed a ritual-couple. The difference is only, that in the Horse-ritual the woman was the mortal and the horse was the divine (Sun or Prajāpati), while here it is the male that is the mortal, while the female is immortal. The reason is that she (*ápyā*) represents the cosmic waters (being their mistress), which are females in the Vedic tradition. They are impregnated by soma or by the mid-region fire, *Apām napāt*, (cf. ṚV. II. 35. 4; 5; 13; 14; X. 30. 5 and at various other places), which is not only a fond fancy of the Vedic seers but a firm conviction. The concept and practice of the ritual-couple is to be found at various places, in seemingly awkward garb of language; just to give two examples—Father-Daughter and their sex; Indrāṇī-Vṛṣākapi and their sex. This has given the most interesting, (and equally misunderstood due to the apparent obscurity of expression) concept of the "*pati-vidya.*"[23] The same concept is explained at the hymn of Nabhānediṣṭha (X. 61) in the words "*krāṇā' pitárā*" (v. 1)—the "performing (ritual-) parents." The riddle of Yama-Yamī falls in the same concept. Coming to Purūravas and Urvaśī, it is impossible for the mortal Purūravas to unite with the immortal Urvaśī, and be himself again, as it is impossible for the mortal lady to unite with the sun or Prajāpati. But, this is done on the ritual-plane, which is the divine on the earth. Whatever is performed on this plane has the sanctity of a divine act. Thus Purūravas, though mortal in respect of Urvaśī, was a mortal with divine powers—or, a mortal turned divine on the plane of the sacrifice; and Urvaśī, though the immortal water-belle, was accessible to him *only* on the plane of the sacrifice. He was, thus, a *su-kṛt* and *su-devá*, a wonder-working ritual-partner of the divine belle. That is why also he was equal to Manu with whom he is praised at the only other place in the *Ṛgveda* (I. 31. 4). The expression there being unique is to be marked. It is said that Agni, caused the heaven to resound for Manu and this our hero, (*dyā'm avāśayaḥ*), indicating the thunder of the clouds. A step further, and the implication of the word *su-devá* strikes yet another cord. We have seen that *su-devá* comes as the counter-part of Mahānagnī with a peculiar sexual tinge; also that he corresponds to the "*mahān abhijñu*". As a male counter-part of the Mahānagnī he would be Mahānagna (the "great naked one)". In the '*āhanasyāḥ*' verses, referred to above, we actually have the ritual-couple of the Mahānagna and the Mahānagnī (ṚV. Khila V. 22. *mahānagnī' mahānagnám dhā'vantam ánu dhāvati*; AV. XX. 136. 11). Now Purūravas is said to have darted in a naked condition according to the Brāhmaṇic account; and, in the hymn itself, there is clear indication of this fact in the word "*ánāvṛt*" (uncovered), as we have already observed. In the confused memory about the actual account of the hymn, and its tradition, the said Brāhmaṇa seems to have preserved an important detail! The Brāhmaṇic account can be reconciled with the Ṛgvedic tradition of the hymn this way—Purūravas, the wonderful sacrificer-seer invented a ritual, on the confirmed Vedic tradition of sex-rituals, wherein a performing couple acted the sex. In it the divine female united with the male.

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[19] *Vedische Studien* I, p. 280 ff.

[20] *Vedic Concept...Fructification*, "Mahānagnī and Apālā".

[21] *Ibid.* p. 47 f.

[22] Goldman's suggestion that the word *vi-rūpā* indicates inherent difference between the *rūpa* of Purūravas and Urvaśī, the former being immortal and the latter mortal is admissible; but it is difficult to accept his view that in the verse under consideration, she is "merely apostrophising herself" (op. cit. p. 281). Bergaigne ((*La Religion Védique*, Paris, 1963, Vol. II, p. 98 ff.) is acceptable in suggesting that Urvaśī takes a different form for use on the earth. We add that this is so at the ritual, as we have suggested.

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[23] The word occurs at certain important places in the Vedic texts (*ṚV.*X.102.11; *Kāṭhaka Saṁ.* VIII.17.62; *Maitt. Saṁ.* III.8.4) and its implication was missed by scholars. I have discussed it fully in my *Vedic Concept.... Fructification*, chapter I " Field and the Ritual-husband ". The concept has a wide scope and is of great ritual-importance.

This sex-act was restricted to the holy ritual, exactly as was the case with the Horse-sacrifice. The divine female was the water-nymph Urvaśī; and she was to favour the advent of rain (thundering cows). After this ritual-act she was supposed to go back to her mid-region realm. In the ritual she was represented by a woman; for, without that it is difficult to understand her advent in the world of the mortals, and her 'union' with the mortal Purūravas. It is just probable that the first performer was the seer himself. It is not also improbable that this ritual was performed twice—once in the Autumnal season (v. 16) and once in the Spring i. e. in the middle and at the beginning of the year. The requests of Purūravas for the arrival of Urvaśī (in the hymn) appear to be at the Spring-ritual, reminding Urvaśī of the Autumnal favour she granted. Or, the ritual might have been only once, at the Autumn, in which case Purūravas reminds Urvaśī of the favour of the last Autumn. The idea in either case was to have security of rain, the point we have discussed. It is pertinent to note in this connection that the seasons Vasanta and Śarad are mentioned in the Ṛgveda (X. 90. 6) and, according to one calculation,[24] Śarad and Varṣā (rainy season) are combined and are taken to be one, which would indicate that a ritual in Autumn (Śarad) would be thought of for facilitating easy usual rain; or, at any rate, for bringing delayed rain. The ritual sex-contact is deftly indicated by the expression " churned with the cane-rod " (v. 4 and 5 *śnathitā' vaitaséna*), which suggests sex-contact[25] (Sāyaṇa also *Nirukta* III. 21) on the ritual-plane and the flash of the lightning-fire in respect of the female waters (*apyā* Urvaśī) of the mid-region. It will be interesting to note that the lightning-fire is actually called golden " *vetasáḥ* " among the female waters (ṚV. IV. 58. 5 *hiraṇyáyo vetasó mádhya āsām*). This also shows that Purūravas, who churns Urvaśī with the " cane-rod " is described in the garb of the mid-region fire, which is only an extention of the idea of his birth for *dasyu-hátya* (Indra-image).

With what has been said above, we come to that portion of the hymn where it has been suggested that Purūravas might fall onto the lap of Nirṛti, or that he might fly to heaven (v. 14; 15), and which has been taken as the surest sign of his death, in view of the additional reference to his being eaten by the hungry wolves (*Ibid, vṛkā rabhasā'se adyúḥ*). Now in the first of these two verses Purūravas simply says that he might fly to the highest heaven, or might sleep in the lap of Nirṛti, or that the wolves might devour him. But even here, it has to be noted, there is no definite mention of his having gone as he has said, or of the wolves actually eating him. On the contrary this seems to be his plea for showing his ardent desire to urge Urvaśī arrive (as before). To this Urvaśī replies; and even here, it is to be carefully noted, she does not curse him to die. On the other hand, she appears to counter his ardent desire by urging him not to do so, " Die not O, Purūravas! Fly not; may not the unholy wolves eat of you." She only indicates that their friendship is unstable; but in the very next verse we have her saying that he had had her (last) Autumn, when she was fully satisfied —so much that even this day she has the happy memory. This indicates that she could be had for the ritual only (as at the last Autumn), and not for ever. This shows the understanding between them, as far as the *Ṛgveda* is considered. The very next verse has the note of Purūravas controlling Urvaśī (v. 17 *úpa śikṣāmi*, see Sāyaṇa for the meaning),[26] calling himself *vasiṣṭha* " (the most shining "), identifying himself with the sacrificial fire (cf. II.9.1). The words " return ! My heart seethes ! ! " (*ní-vartasva hṛ'dayam tapyate me*) appear to be a " wort-spiel " in respect of his epithet *vasiṣṭha*, identifying himself with the fire; and, probably serves as a command rather than betray helplessness ! Then follows the benediction which says that his progeny shall be a line of sacrificers and he would enjoy in " *svarga* ", the meaning of which we have already discussed, as he had performed a wonderful feat and achieved a unique ritual ! In all these passages we have seen, Purūravas is clearly identifying himself with the cosmic powers (cf. *apó náryaḥ dásyu-hátyāya, go-pí'thyāya*) which suggests his mastery over the cosmic phenomena, by means of a sacrifice in which he identifies himself with the sacrificial fire itself. This is why he is *su-kṛt*, and presents only another aspect of the concept of " *dvibárhas* " or " *dvi-bándhu* ".[27]

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[24] *Śat.Br.*13.6.1.10; 11; see *Vedic Index* under *Ṛtu.*

[25] See note 15.

We now come to the darkest portion of the hymn, and the two verses that are remaining have to be examined very carefully (v. 12; 13). The first is the question of Purūravas and the second is the reply of Urvaśī. The following points have to be considered :

(i) Who is the " Son " and who the " Father " ?

(ii) What is the exact rendering and implication of—" *cakrán na* ", and of " *krandad ādhyè śivā'yai* " ?

and (iii) What is meant by " *áśru vartayat* " ?

We have already seen that the birth and the exploits that are referred to in the earlier portion of the hymn are that of Purūravas. Even in the Brāhmaṇic account, as we have observed, the son does not appear to be important, and that he gets interchanged with the *kumāra*. It is further to be considered that the son from a divine woman is an impossible thing; and the contact with the " divine " woman, if it is to be actual, must be on the plane of the sacrifice. The subtle references to the sacrifice do not indicate the son of Purūravas anywhere earlier. We have, then, ground to believe that the " son " spoken of at this juncture of the hymn is not an actual son, nor is the " father " of a real one. Moreover, the probability of Purūravas being dead set aside, there is no point in anybody weeping for him. Naturally, the " *aśru* " is not the real tear as we might suppose. And, if we bear in mind that the Vedic tradition believed in the principle of " *parokṣatva* " (expressing symbolically, or obscuringly), we shall see the truth of what we have observed above the " son " and the " father ". Let us examine :

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[26] Geldner renders *upa śikṣāmi* as " I entice her " (locke ich her); and for *Vasiṣṭhaḥ* he has " her lover " (ihr Liebster). These renderings are not supported by the *Ṛgveda*; for *Vasiṣṭha* is used for Agni; and √*śikṣ* does not indicate the sense of alluring. I have followed Sāyaṇa; the general sense is of controlling or guiding—cf. VI.28.5. For the identity of the roots *śak* and *śikṣ* see Böthlingk and Roth, Lexicon; also Whitney, *The Roots, Verb-forms* etc. Michigan, 1950, p. 169. I would take √*śikṣ* as germinated from √*śak*. I am working presently on *Root Germinants in Sanskrit*, see *Indian Antiquary*, III Series, V-i.

[27] The word *dvi-bárhas* occurs at various places; and the other only at X.61.17. For further discussion, *Vedic Concept....Fructification* Ch. VII.

If we compare the expressions in the two verses under study, we see certain common things. Thus :—

" *cakran na* " (in both verses)
" *aśru vartayat* " (v. 12) " *vartayate aśru* " (v. 13)

Thus far the question-verse and the reply-verse agree. But the reply-verse has something more viz. " *krandad ādhyè śivā'yai* ". Now, if we read " *cakran na krandat* " (here *na* being the word expressing comparison) we expect " *cakran* " having a different root than in *krandat* (√ *krand* " to roar "). Hence, it is not possible to understand " *cakran* " as " *krandamānaḥ* " (v. 12) (weeping) as Sāyaṇa understands. The fun is that he renders *cakran* at the earlier verse as " *krandamānaḥ* ", while in the next verse, in the face of " *krandat* ", fearing repetition (?) He understands " *cakran* " as " shedding tears " (*rudan aśrūṇi vi-muñcan*), leaving " *krandat* " uncommented. But, then, what special meaning is there by this repetition ?—" Shedding tears he will cry " ? The word *cakran* occurs nowhere else, and is grammatically difficult. A close examination of √ *krand*, however, shows that its forms occur with deities alone ; and the sense nowhere is that of sorrow or weeping ! On the other hand, the sense is of " roar " ; and the root is associated with the mid-region deities. Thus, the unique word " *krandanu* " is used for the mid-region fire (ṚV. VII.42.1 *prá krandanúr nabhanyàsya vetu*, " may the roar of the thunderer go up "). The root is favourite with Parjanya (V. 83.7 ;—58.6) ; for the thunder-bolt of Indra (I.100.13) ; and Vāyu is " *krandád iṣṭi* " (X.100.13 ; this is his unique epithet, and comes at no other place in the *Ṛgveda*). Only Agni is " *krándad áśvaḥ* " (I.36.8 ;-173.3). This will show that the word " *krandat* " in our hymn cannot be taken in the sense of weeping. It has to be taken in the accepted sense of the mid-region thunder. This means that the seer is using the word " *aśru* ", along with *krandat* only to make the whole scene " *parokṣa* ", and it comes before us as a riddle, though, however, it is perfectly according to his image of the mid-region activity. The word *aśru*, then, has to be connected with the mid-region scene. We have seen the sense of √*krand* above, and its relation with certain deities. We, now, fix our attention on an interesting passage about the fire :—

> " May the sacrificer (Agni) pervade the sacrificial assembly, going about its various abodes ; may he fill in the ' foetus ' for the earth, that is yearly (or, Autumnal cf. *bhárad gárbham ā' śarádaḥ pṛthivyā'ḥ*). May the " horse ", being led, rear ; may the " cow " thunder (*krándad áśvaḥ, ruvád gaúḥ*) ; may the Speech move about the two worlds like a messenger " (ṚV. I.173.3).

The image in this passage is clear :—the Fire-horse (a fond concept of the Vedic seers) is established in his sacrificial abodes ; he roars (as the mid-region fire) ; the mid-region-cow thunders (cloud-cow). The *garbha* is laid in the earth. This is done every year (or Autumn) ! It is not only here that the concept of *garbha* and rain occurs ; it is well rooted in the tradition ; and the thought is closely associated with that of the roar (with √*krand* and its various forms). Our seer extends it further to introduce the image of the *áśru* (" tear "), which, though not very common, obtains. Identification between the tear and rain may appear fantastic ; but, well, it only *appears* so. If we remember that the Vedic seers had already developed the concept of rain being the body-fluid (cf. *rétas*, urine of the cloud-horse, sweat of the dark Bull etc., also the body sap of Vṛtra and the fluid from Śuṣṇa's testicles[28]) we shall be in a position to appreciate our seer's image of *áśru*. But let us come to concrete examples where the eye-fluid is directly associated with rain. Thus, the sun is said to have his eye covered with *rájas* (ṚV. I.164.14 ; and cf. *Nir*. IV.19 *udakam raja ucyate*). The Sun has been often said to be the eye ; and also he controls the waters, he has sucked up, in his orb (ṚV. I.23.17 ; and *Taitt. Ār*. I.8.1) ; he also opens his eye to emit *rajas*, which is a mixed concept for light and water (V. 59.3). The fight with Vṛtra is associated with the advent of rain[29] ; and it is interesting to note that when Indra shatters the attendants of Vṛtra at the limit of the *rajas*, they weep (I.33.7 *tvám etā'n rudatáḥ jákṣataś cā'-yodhayo rájasa indra pāré*). The eye-fluid, or the " tear " was then, not an unfamiliar symbol in the context of water and for rain ! But let us see an example that leaves no doubt about this. It is said that the left eye of Prajāpati got swollen; the drops that dripped from it became rain (*Taitt. Sam*. IV. 6.3 *tasya vai prajāpateḥ savyam cakṣur*

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[28] These ideas come quite frequently; to cite a few cases I.164.34-35; *apām retāṁsi* (VIII.44.16); X 64.10; Urine—*átyam ná mihē vi nayanti vāiji'nam* (*1.64.6*); Sweat—*varṣám svédam cakrire rudri'yāsaḥ* (i. e. Maruts, V.58.7; the Maruts have the epithet *svédāñji* at X.67.6; According to Geldner it comes for the Aṅgirases); Śuṣṇa's body fluid—VIII.40.11 *yāḥ āṇḍā' śúṣṇasya bhédati, ājaiḥ svar-vatir apáḥ*. For the belief in other mythologies see my *Pastoral Symbolism from the Ṛgveda*, Poona Uni., 1970, p. 14f.

[29] *Ibid*. for other examples.

aśvayat ; *tato ye stoka avāpadyanta tair idam varṣati*). Thus " *aśru vartayat* " and " *aśru vartayate* " has association with the idea of the release of rain. Otherwise there is no point in adding the word " *krandat* " (with the image of the thunder) to the " *áśru* ". Purūravas asks if the " tear will be released " ; and Urvaśī promises that it certainly will be ; for she controls it as the water-belle ! With this, now about the " Son ", and also the " Father ".

The case of the " Son " and the " Father " is not very difficult, in spite of the principle of *parokṣatva*; for the words are common for the fire and Parjanya, or the sky. Parjanya is the father and the powerful *asura* who sprinkles semen-rain (ṚV. V. 83.6 *apó ni-ṣiñcán ásuraḥ pitā' naḥ*; and earlier v. 1 ; 4). He is also the *pitā* of Soma (IX. 82.3); and he (or the sky) is the " Father " that sprinkles " semen " on his " Daughter " (earth) according to the famous ritual-myth (X.61.7; I.71.5; III.31.1).[30] About the word *sūnú* it is to be observed that alone it comes in a number of places almost only for Agni, in addition to his fond epithet of " *sáhasaḥ sūnúḥ* (I.59.4 ; -27.2; -103.4; VI.4.4). In the complex imagery Agni is said to hold the *garbha* of the " Father " (ṚV. III.1.10) and to gain the " udder of the Father " (*Ibid.* 9); and at one place Agni himself is said to shine for the " *sūnú* ", who is the sacrificer (III.1.12). The *garbha* and the " udder " are indicative of rain and the cloud, and the father is Parjanya or the sky. This will mean that we have to take the word *sūnu* either as indicating Agni or the sacrificer. In the latter case, the sense will be that Purūravas himself is meant as *sūnu* ($\sqrt{}$*sū* + *nu*, *uṇādi* suffix), who would desire the Father to emit the " *aśru* " (rain). In the previous case the sacrificial fire (*sūnu*) would desire the Father to emit the " *aśru* ". In view of " *krandat* ", however, the *sūnu* appears to be Agni. The causal construction of the passage also supports (cf. *vartayat* and *vartayate*) the sense;—" When might the *sūnu* " being sacrifically " born " (kindled), desire the Father? Might be cause (the Father) to turn the *aśru* (or, might the Father cause the *aśru* to turn). This was the worry of Purūravas; and Urvaśī promises him that the *aśru* will be caused to turn ! And here again we have the sex-touch in the words " like-minded couple (*dámpatī sámanasā*) "—Purūravas and Urvaśī, who would ultimately unite with him as on the last occasion. The construction of the passage is to be noted :—" Who will separate the like-minded (ritual-) partners, when the fire will shine among the " fathers-in-law ? ", indicating that when the ritual fires are kindled the ritual-pair would act, and this is conductive to the advent of the " *aśru* ", and of the auspiciousness of the ritual (*ādhyè śivā'yai*). It will be appreciated that this verse is the most complex one and yet equally important one. It is this verse that has floated the mis-leading account of the birth of an actual son; and the same has also the mention of the " fathers-in-law ". The point has to be further examined. But before that we shall do well to notice how the motif of the uniting parents and the birth of a son is a common one in the *Ṛgveda*, in the context of the gain of rain. Thus Indra leads the cosmic parents (Heaven and Earth) to semen-enjoyment; and the "son" (sacrificial fire) causes to flow from the shining heavenly abode the third "*nā'ma*" of the "Father" (ṚV. I.155.3). The third "*nāma*" (√*nam*) is the essence from the third world (heaven) which is the abode of the "Father". This essence is the nourishing fluid, which is known to us as rain (cf. Sāyaṇa). It is the same as the *retas* mentioned above in the first half (cf. *ni mātárā nayati rétase bhujé*) (at b), and *dádhāti putró 'varam páram pitúr nā'ma tṛtī'yam ádhi rocané diváḥ*). The "Father" is, obviously, the heavenly vault, the Sun or Parjanya. In ritual (as in the Horse-sacrifice) this couple is represented as the divines in the mortal form. As a second example we may refer to the famous concept of the "Father" planting his seed in the Daughter, and the birth of Vāstoṣpati (X.61. 7 ff), the thought culminating in the gain of the "milk of the Sabar-dughā" with the thought of semen (*retas*) persisting (*Ibid.* v.11). The "*cakran*" is the performer (√*kṛ*).[31] What has been said uptil now will make clear that the words *sūnu, father and dampatī* have to be taken in the context of the images developed by the Vedic seers. As they are not to be taken in their literal sense, so is the case with the "Father-in-law." The word, obviously, does not refer to the *actual* father-in-law of Purūravas. The word appears twice in the hymn :—

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[30] For a full discussion see *Vedic Concept....Fructification*, Ch. VII.

(i) Urvaśī—bearing wealth for the "Father-in-law (v. 4) (*vásu dádhatī śváśurāya*). Here the word is in the singular.

(ii) Agni—is to shine among the "Fathers-in-law" (v.12) (*ádha yád ágniḥ śváśureṣu dī'dayat*). In the plural.

The only other occurrence of the word "*śváśura*" is in an equally intriguing hymn, that of Vasukra. The seer is believed to be the wife of Vasukra. She says, "All other worthies have arrived; My "Father-in-law" has, indeed, not arrived!" And this "Father-in-law" has been understood as Indra, which is quite correct in view of the mention of *dhānā*-s and *Soma*-juice (X. 62.1; *dhāna*-s are not mentioned with any god except Indra). We have already observed that Indra is the god of the mid-region; as such the *śvaśura* in our hymn, pervaded with the atmosphere of the mid-region, can be none else than Indra; and the many "*śvaśura*-s" are mid-region deities or, conceptual "fathers-in-law" of the seer—Purūravas. When the sacrificial fire (*sūnu*) goes up and shines among them (in his form of the mid-region fire), he roars (cf. *krandat*); and, as he goes up he desires the "Father" (parjanya), which helps the "*aśru*" turn; for, on the ritual-plane the like-minded couple act the cosmic 'union'. Who can separate them?

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[31] We nave observed how Sāyaṇa takes the form to be from √*krand*, which is not acceptable. Geldner follows Sāyaṇa ("Schreiendes") and adds in the bracket "kind". Now, where is the propriety in comparing the new born son ("geborne sohn") as he renders the expression *sūnuḥ. . . .jātaḥ*, (taking him to be a real son) to a crying child; for that has to be taken as his natural quality! And, likewise, there is absolutely no point in understanding the son to "drop tears" like a crying child!" Obviously, he has, like others including Sāyaṇā, missed the implication of "*krandat*", as he like others, has not examined the occurrences of word. In *cakran na krandat* he understands haplology like *kanikradat* or *kanikrat*, or following Oldenberg, suggests "*cakrad na*". It has to be pointed out, however, that in *kanikradat* or *kanikrat* the form is complete in itself; and in *cakrad* (Oldenberg) the form is against the *Padapāṭha*; and the reason for this variant suggestion is absent. Roth (quoted by Geldner) derives it from √*kṝ* ("to scatter"); but the sense is not supported from any other instance. I stick to my suggestion √*kṛ* ("to perform"), being an irregular form in the perfect base, or an irregular conjugation (III conj.).

Only one point now remains to be cleared. There is the mention of Uṣas in the hymn (only once at v. 4) in the vocative. There seems no reason why she should be mentioned at all. The point has to be compared with another such mention in similar atmosphere of implied sex-ritual (X.61.4, though not clear, it is inferrable—*kṛṣṇā' yád gósv, aruṇī'ṣu sī'dat*) This indicates, probably the time of the sex in the ritual, as the mention of the "churning by the cane-rod" comes immediately after. Otherwise there seems to be no reason of her mention, and that too in the vocative; and she is actually addressed by Urvaśī. At this time of the ritual Urvaśī shone for the '*śvaśura*' (brought him added lustre) to favour the sacrificial ritual. This was just before she actually arrived at the ritual-place from the *ánti-gṛha* (the mid-region)—the ritual-place referred to as the "*ásta*" of Purūravas on a fixed day, on which alone the *mantra*-s (v. 1) and the 'union' were to have meaning.

The plan of the whole hymn is, in short, as follows :—

1. The *kratu* is "*avīra*"; it itself is the "*śivā ādhi*," i. e. an auspicious ritual[32] which is to be accomplished.
2. It is "*avīra*" (un-productive; Lit. "son-less);" if the "son" is born, it will be successful; the "son" (*sūnuḥ*=Agni) is sure to be born. (It is here that the later accounts take the thread of the actual son of Purūravas, which is incorrect).
3. The non-fructification of the *kratu* is indicated by the traditional image of the "cows not bellowing" (absence of clouds and rain).

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[32] The word *ādhi* is likely to be rendered as "trouble" or "sorrow", in respect of I.105.7; 8 and X.33.3. But what could be the *śivā ādhi*? The word *śivā* precludes the *ādhi* being any calamity or trouble. The seer uses the word in respect of only the apparent sense (but not the true!) of *krandat* and *aśru*. All these words, it appears certain, have been used with a sense of word-play. Taking the flat sense, Geldner renders this expression as-"freundlichen Sorge (der Mutter)" I fail to follow what he means by "friendly sorrow of the mother" etc. I prefer Sāyaṇa ("*ādhye ādhyāte vastuni*"); but I suggest it to be a fixed ritual (*ādhi*).

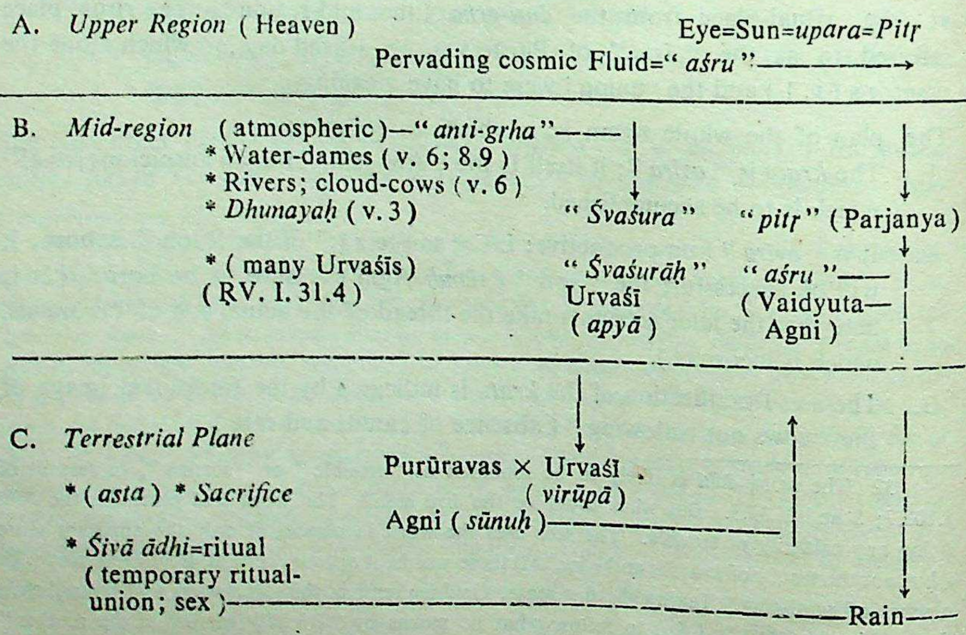
4. For its fructification 'union' with Urvaśī (*apyā*) is necessary. This sex-union is only on the plane of the sacrifice, and not for ever.

5. Urvaśī stays in the "*anti-gṛha*" (mid-region), which is the abode of the "*śvaśura*" (Indra) and the like of him (mid-region deities such as the Maruts, Vāyu etc.) and of the various aspects of Urvaśī, said to be her female attendants. Here the seer imitates Vasukra. The "cane-rod" is the shaft of lightning fire (cosmic) that "rubs" the water-bess Urvaśī, as he is the accepted lord of the cosmic waters, and it indicates also the Sex-organ of the ritual-man (Purūravas) on the ritual plane, that has the contact with the ritual-woman (*virūpā Urvaśī*), a well set Vedic ritual-tradition.

6. Purūravas was a wonderful sacrificer-seer; he describes himself as being actually born for great deeds; he further described himself in the garb of Indra and the mid-region fire; the great deeds are the exploits to move the mid-region and to make it rain. Here also the seer uses images well known in the tradition—"*ápo náryaḥ*" "*dasyuhátya*" "*su-devá*" etc.

7. The whole ritual was for the gain of rain; and here the seer uses a fresh image, that of the "*aśru*" which is only the symbol for the widely pervading ($\sqrt{as} + ru$) fertilizing body-fluid. The image is fresh, but not entirely new.

The following chart may help clear the whole vision of the seer :—


A. Upper Region (Heaven)
Eye=Sun=upara=Pitṛ
Pervading cosmic Fluid=" aśru "
B. Mid-region (atmospheric)—" anti-gṛha "
* Water-dames (v. 6; 8.9)
* Rivers; cloud-cows (v. 6)
* Dhunayaḥ (v. 3)
* (many Urvaśīs)
(ṚV. I. 31.4)
" Śvaśura "
" Śvaśurāḥ "
Urvaśī
(apyā)
" pitṛ " (Parjanya)
" aśru "
(Vaidyuta—
Agni)
C. Terrestrial Plane
* (asta) * Sacrifice
* Śivā ādhi=ritual
(temporary ritual-
union; sex)
Purūravas × Urvaśī
(virūpā)
Agni (sūnuḥ)
Rain

REFLECTIONS ON THE BUDDHIST DOCTRINE OF KARMAN

By

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A. *The Notion of Karman and its Nature in Buddhism*

The doctrine of *Karman* may be defined as a philosophic principle which admits belief in the continuity and effectiveness of an invisible force which has its source in the actions of the past. All the actions of the past produce, along with the immediate perceptible result, potential energies which continue in the form of an invisible force and make their appearance whenever there is a suitable occasion. It is obvious that belief in such a principle would be disadvantageous to a priestly religion of the Vedic times. In its developed form, the doctrine for the first time emerges in the Upaniṣadic texts. However, all the sects and schools in the time of Buddha felt themselves moved to debate this notion seriously. While there appears to be a general agreement with regard to a belief in the doctrine, the different sects disagreed on many important points of the principle such as the nature of *Karman*, its relation with *jīva*, the way it works out itself, and so on.

The Jainas were great exponents of the doctrine of *Karman*. They called themselves *Karmavādins* (i.e. believers in the doctrine of *Karman*) and *Kriyāvādin*s (i.e. believers in individual initiative) and were sharply opposed to *Akriyāvādins* or those who denied *Karman* and did not admit that the action of the soul is transmitted to the future moments.[1] According to the Jainas, an individual is a total production of his own deeds—his passion, consciousness, intellect, perceptions and impressions belong to him exclusively and at the same time the fruits of *Karman* are not shareable by anyone else.[2] They also believe that the nature of *Karman* is material and that every deed would entail its result without any consideration of whether intellect or consciousness was applied to it or not.[3] Since *jīva's* association with *Karman* is the root cause of suffering, it could win its liberation by hindering the absorption of new *Karman* and elimination of the *Karman* already accumulated.[4] For this the Jainas prescribe artificial physical means.

In opposition to this theory, according to which the *jīva* was bound by his actions but could free itself with the help of certain measures, there was another opinion which believed in the ultimacy of the power of *Karman*, which could by no means be checked from bearing its results. Some others held *jīva* to be free from all pollutions caused by action. Mankhaliputta Gosāla, for instance, considered man subject to the torture of rebirth by a force-call it *Karman* or *Niyati*—which was independent of any human control.[5] Pūraṇa Kassapa and Pakudha Kaccāyana, two other renowned thinkers of the age, doctrinized the principle along different lines. The former considered any ethical distinctions between two actions as absurd and believed that one might do whatever one pleases without any fear of sin or virtue.[6] Pakudha Kaccāyana held the same view by giving a different interpretation. He believed that there were seven ultimate substances which existed in emptiness (*vivara*) : "Thus interaction between the four types of matter, *sukha*, *duḥkha* and *jīva* was impossible, and hence such action as involved interaction, for instance, killing another, was also impossible."[7] Soul was, thus, beyond the touch of good or evil. Besides, there were other philosophies, for example, *Kālavāda*, *Niyativāda*, *Yadṛcchāvāda*, *Svabhāvavāda* etc. which did not admit of a principle of causality and attributed each and every event to an abstract power variously called Time (*Kāla*), Accident (*Yadṛcchā*) or Destiny (*Niyati*).

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[1] *Jaina Sūtras*, Pt. II (tr. by Jacobi Hermann), *The Sacred Books of the East Series*, Vol. XLV (edited by F. Max Muller), Oxford University Press, London, 1895, pp. 316-317.

[2] *Ibid.*, 59, 301, 349.

[3] *Ibid.*, 399 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, 167.

Buddha believed in the inevitability of experiencing the results of one's past actions. At one place we read : " Monks, there are these two faults (*vajjāni*). What two ? That which has result in this very life and that which has its result in some future life."[8] There can be no wiping out of the accumulated deeds without experiencing their results. It is you who did it and it is you who will have to experience the results thereof. " Deeds are one's own . . . beings are heirs to deeds, deeds are matrix, deeds are kin, deeds are arbiters . . . ."[9]

In Buddhism, however, the concept underwent a remarkable change. It no longer depended on religious ritualism as the emphasis was now shifted to the principle of moral determination; hence evolved the notion of its being beyond the power of any apparent agent.

B. *The Human Action and Moral Standard*

Karman, we have seen, reflects the impression of one's deeds in some future time. The most frequent classification of action in the *Nikāyas* is into *kuśala* (good), *akuśala*, (bad) and *avyakta* (indifferent) which lead one to *sukha* (happiness) *duḥkha* (pain) and *neither-sukha-nor-duḥkha* respectively. One not less frequent classification is in four. Sometimes it is categorised in good and bad only. The measuring-yard for the judgment of an action is apparently the *vipā*ka (result) it brings about. *Vipāka* is not the immediate result of an action ; it is the ultimate result. If I forcibly snatch money from someone, the immediate feeling in me may be of pleasure, but it does not tend to put the action in the category of good for it ultimately causes an accumulation of sin by way of commitment of *hiṁsā* (violence) towards the other person.

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[5] See *below*.

[6] Samannaphalasutta in *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part I, (tr. of the *Digha Nikāya* by Rhys Davids, T. W.), Oxford University Press, London,—Reprinted 1923, pp. 69-70.

[7] Pande G. C., : *Studies in the Origin of Buddhism*, University of Allahabad, 1957, p. 348.

[8] *The Book of the Gradual Sayings* (*Aṅguttara Nikāya*) Vol. I (translated by Woodward F. L.), Published for the Pali Text Society by Luzac and Co., Ltd., London, 1951, p. 42.

[9] Oft-repeated formula in the *Nikāyas* : see, *The Book of the Gradual Sayings* (*Aṅguttara Nikāya*), Vol. III (translated by Hare E. M.), Published for the Pali Text Society by Luzac & Co., Ltd., London, 1952, p. 60, 137, 249; *The Middle Length Sayings* (*Majjhima Nikāya*) Vol. III (translated by Horner I. B.), Published for the Pali Text Society by Luzac & Co., Ltd., London, 1959, p. 249.

But, since action precedes *vipāk*a (result) and latter is not within the comprehension of all, it cannot be a practicable criterion to judge the action. To solve this problem of moral standard the Brahmins recommended *vidhi* (rules) stated in the Vedas which, according to their belief are *apauruṣeya* (not laid down by human being i.e. revealed). As Buddha had no faith in an all-powerful God and the validity of the Vedas, he had to seek another criterion which could be in accordance with his rational ideas about cosmology. He laid stress on purity of motive for he believed that *Karma* is volition as expressed in action.[10] An apparently sinful act but not done with sinful motives is no sin. One cannot be held responsible for the death of a man who is struck to death by the stone actually aimed at the mango fruit on the tree, because one's physical action of throwing was not propelled by an intention of killing him. The doctrine is in conformity with the general human psychology ; supposing someone tramps upon your foot and, immediately realizing his fault, begs pardon, your anger vanishes then and there and you get to normalcy. In the like manner, a deed done in all good will cannot be called immoral even though it may cause a severe pain for the meanwhile. It is this freedom of intention from moral pollution that justifies the profession of a doctor. Buddhism believes that even a *Tathāgata* can commit a deed which is apparently a deed of *hiṁsā* (violence) but as he has always a good motive he cannot be blamed for it.[11] Buddha is here in sharp opposition to the Jaina belief that the nature of

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[10] *The Book of the Kindred Sayings* (*Saṁyutta Nikāya*) Part III (translated by Mrs. Rhys Davids) Published for the Pali Text Society by Luzac and Co., Ltd., London, 1952, p. 46. *Aṅguttara* III, *op. cit.*, p. 294, ' Determinate thought is action; when one determines, one acts by word, deed and thought. ' Nagarjuna (*Madhyamaka*, 17. 2-3) says : ' *cetanā cetayitvā ca karmoktaṁ paramarṣiṇā.* ' In *Abhidharmakośa* (4.1.) Vasubandhu defines *Karma* as *cetana-cetayitva-karaṇa*. Compare, *Jaina Sūtras* Part II, *op. cit.*, p. 399. The Jainas hold that an act even without the accompaniment of consciousness would entail its result.

[11] *The Question of King Milinda* (translated by Rhys Davids T. W.), *The Sacred Books of the East Series* Vol. XXXV (edited by F. Max Muller), Oxford University Press, London, pp. 164-65.

Karman is material and, consequently, every action, irrespective of good or bad intention of the agent, enwraps the soul. Buddha, it has been well observed, had in this respect more affinities with Brahmanical discipline than with the Jaina and the *Ājīvaka* creeds.[12]

C. *Detached Action*

Motives propelled by attachment, malice and delusion (*rāga, doṣa* and *moha*) constitute *akuśala karmas* (bad deeds) while those propelled by their opposites (i.e. *arāga, adoṣa, amoha*) constitute *Kuśala karmas* (good deeds). *Kuśala* (good) and *akuśala* (bad) are divisions of *sahetuka karma* (action with desire) and the ultimate result of both is pain. It does not follow from this that *ahetu ka karma* (action performed without desire) must result in pleasure; on the contrary, it has no *vipāka* (result) at all. It is neither pain nor pleasure. A perfect man or *arhat* has no desires to base on any of the worldly objects and, consequently, there are no results of action for him. Though its framing is negative, yet non-attachment brings about numerous positive virtues and for that reason holds significant place in the prominent religions of the world. The *Gītā* preaches non-attachment in two ways i.e. by self-realization and by merging the individual's will into the Divine-Will. The latter theistic method for the inculcation of non-attachment has affinities with the Christian concept which attaches a significant place to devotion to God. It is, though paradoxical it may seem, preaching *niṣkāma karma* (action without desire) by the way of *sakāma karma* (action with desire). Buddhism is entirely free from any influence of theism and has a rational basis for its ideas. It, therefore, comes to the same conclusion by adopting a different path; it may be termed as self-purification. One of the many epithets used for the Buddha is *anūpalitto* (uncontaminated)[13] i.e. like a lotus flower, which is not wetted by water it floats upon, he is not stained by the

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Aṅguttara III, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5 explains it by the help of an example of a baby and his nurse. If the baby puts a piece of stick or stone in his mouth, the nurse would take it out at the cost of any pain that the child may feel thereby. Such an action ought to be done by the nurse out of love, seeking the child's good and for that reason it cannot be sinful.

[12] Mookarji Satkari, : '*Influence of Buddhism on Indian Thought and Culture*', *Journal of Bihar Research Society* (Buddha Jayanti Special Issue, 1956), p. 161.

It is interesting to note that Buddha has got much similarity of opinion with modern psychologists who believe that moral judgments do not really relate to the event but to the intention of the doer. See, Westermarck Edward, : *Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, Vol. I, London, 1906, p. 205. He quotes Sidgwick and Stewart Mill and writes : " Even Stewart Mill who does so sharp a distinction between the morality of the act and moral worth of the agent admits that ' the morality of the action depends entirely upon the intention. ' "

[13] *The Book of the Discipline* (*Vinaya Piṭaka*), Vol. IV (*Mahāvagga*), translated by Horner I. B., Luzac & Co., Ltd., London, 1951, p. 11. Also, *The Book of the Kindred Sayings* (*Saṁyutta Nikāya*) Part III (translated by Woodward F. L.), Published for the Pali Text Society by Luzac & Co., Ltd., London, 1954, p. 118.

affairs of the world. We read in the *Sutta-Nipāta* about a perfect man as one 'who does not aim at gifts nor resent their lack; he has abated all the cravings and allurements lose all power upon him.'[14] The perfect man is unstained both by evil or vice and by good or virtue. There is no dualism in perfection. Perfection signifies a disposition of mind in which good and evil are equally useless The good is good only in so far as it helps one in reaching the other shore; what is the sense and wisdom in bearing its burden when the destination is reached? In the Buddhist texts it finds enunciation by the way of the parable of Raft.[15]

D. *Three Levels of the Principle of Karman*

While dealing with the doctrine of *Karman* in its relation to human action and moral standard, it appears necessary to distinguish several aspects of this law as their neglect has often led to many misleading conclusions. The principal aspects of the law of *Karman* may be described as causal, moral and spiritual. The first two are generally combined in Buddhism and together belong to *Saṁvṛti* (*Phenomenality*). On the causal plane man is just an object of nature (*nissatta, nijjīva*) and any law of nature (*dhammatā*) holds true for him as in the case of any other object.[16] The law of *Karman* becomes, in other words, the psycho-ethical aspect of the universe. One comprehends it rationally and by its help seeks to attain mastery over nature. *Karman* is here a psychic force (*cetanā*) which may be good or evil and is responsible for the happiness and suffering of all beings. As a psycho-ethical principle, the law of *Karman* comes to acquire a regulative value for the human conduct and is the source of prescriptions and prohibitions. On the other hand, all *Karman* is felt to arise from ignorance and in a deep sense all the experience it produces belongs to the realm of suffering. As such all *Karman* ought to be finally transcended. On the one hand the law of *Karman* enables us to effect a distinction between right and wrong within the realm of phenomenality (*saṁvṛti*) ; on the other hand, its transcendence leads one beyond the phenomenon. These two aspects correspond to the distinction later made between *saṁvṛti* (phenomenal) and *paramārtha* (absolute). On the one hand, *Karman* is at once a causal and moral factor ; on the other, its transcendence is the gateway to spiritual freedom. The doctrine of *Karman* thus implies a strict moral regulation of life and the disciplining of psychic forces. At the same time, the doctrine of *Karman* points out that the entire life of egoistic action is one of bondage and man should seek to reach beyond the polarities of pleasure and pain, right and wrong, to spiritual freedom expressing itself in peace and compassion.

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[14] *Sutta-Nipāta* (854), (The Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 37), pp. 204-5. *The Book of the Kindred Sayings* (*Saṁyutta Nikāya*), Part V (tr. by Mrs. Rhys Davids), Published for the Pali Text Society by Luzac & Co., Ltd., London, 1950, p. 78 ' Who so hath left the world.... neither feels pleasure, nor is sad at heart.'

[15] *The Collection of the Middle Length Sayings* (*Majjhima Nikāya*) Vol. I (translated by Horner I. B.), Published for the Pali Text Society by Luzac & Co., Ltd., London, 1954, pp. 173-74. In the *Sutta Nipāta* (21), *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7. Buddha says that by the help of a well-wrought Raft, he has crossed over the Flood and that he needed no further rafts.

This superfluousness of Law after the attainment of enlightenment has been emphasized also by some western thinkers. St. Augustine's "Let him no longer use tne law as a means of arrival when he has arrived" and Meister Eckhart's "having gotton to the other side I do not need a ship" are exact parallels of the Buddhist parable of Raft.

[16] For example, Newton's Law of Gravitation or the third Law of Motion would hold true of man as well as of any other natural object.

E. Karman vis-a-vis Determinism.

Having once assumed *Karman* all-powerful and its result unavoidable, the cultivation of mind from the standpoint of determinism is not very surprising. But, if everything in the world is taken to be pre-ordained, there remains no place for morality and responsibility in that case, would seem nothing but mere illusion. For, 'if there be no such originator, if the person possesses no real freedom, then retaliation, revenge, punishment are not only morally assailable, but are simply senseless, purely imaginary phenomena'.[17]

Determinism is often mistaken to be a complete human subjection to destiny, a slavery where there is no place for freedom of will. That was the case with the Ājīvakas who refused the reality of anything which could correspond to the term "human exertion". To them everything was fixed and man was absolutely "destitute of force, power or energy".[18] Man is a total creation of his fate—his will, his behaviour, his spiritual attitude, in a word, whatsoever he is, being pre-ordained, there is no place left for his choice in the making and the unmaking of his destiny. This misapprehension of the meaning of determination is manifest also in the modern pre-Kantian philosophical thought of the West ; Fichte, until he became acquainted with Kant's, felt determinism to be an 'outrage upon man', a slavery. It is upon this mental background that Kant's doctrine appealed to him as a doctrine of deliverance.[19]

On this point Buddha crosses sword against the Ājīvaka doctrine. A preacher of deliverance as he was, the absurdity and incompatibility of a principle of inaction with the rest of his teaching is obvious. The precedence of volition to action[20] in the formation of *karma* and the significant position of right action (*sammā saṅkappa*) assigned in the Eight Fold Path are sufficient proofs of Buddha's keenness to lay an emphatic stress on the will-power of man. So many ways for its cultivation have been suggested. To Buddha inaction is most abominable. He himself struggled for the attainment of the goal and taught the same throughout his life. Buddhism is a doctrine of struggle and resistance-struggle against the sufferings of this miserable world, a conscious resistance against abject pleasures of the senses; it is an exertion toward the direction of *summum bonum*. Buddha solemnly declares that he has made the norm manifest and every clansman, who has left the world, should cultivate a strong will :

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[17] Hartman Nicolai, : *Ethics*, Vol. III (2nd: Eng. Imprint, London, 1951), p. 72; See, Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics* (A commentary by Joachim, H. H. Oxford 1951), p. 95. A classification of action is made. Man, Aristotle says, is not responsible in all cases; Bradley F. H., *Ethical* Studies (Oxford, Reprint, 2nd edition, 1962), pp. 5-7, gives a list of factors which go to make ordinary mind feel responsible for his deeds. One of them is the belief that whatsoever he did was not under some stress or force.

[18] *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part I, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

[19] Hartman Nicolai, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

> " Verily, let skin and sinews and bones wilt in my body, let flesh and blood dry up, yet shalt there be upkeep of energy till I have won that which by man's strength, by man's energy, by man's progress may be won."[21]

How can one reconcile this strength in determination with the allegation of inaction in the preaching of Buddha? He deprecated the doctrine of Maṅkhaliputta Gosāla most and believed that he, along with some other classes of ascetics, was bound for infernal regions. Gosāla is called a man-trap[22] who preaches for the sorrow and discomfort for many.

It is not at all strange that Buddha did not find his doctrine of free will in contradistinction to his notion of determinism of the chain of causation. The causation theory is not a fixed theory in the sense that in Buddhism every stage is a cause as well as an effect. There is cause in the effect and effect in the cause; where it is an effect it is pre-destined by past deeds but otherwise it is a self-determinant entity.

Karman determines, on the one hand, character (*saṁskāra*) and, on the other, experiences (*bhoga*), pleasant or painful. *Karman* itself is an emergent from the interaction of will-power, character and circumstances. Character (*saṁskāra*) signifies characteristics conditioned by the past deeds, circumstances the outside world and the will-power the inner energy. These factors constitute one's personality and will has got an equally significant place. With the help of this man can bring about a change in the circumstances he has been put into.

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[20] See, above : Westermarck, *op. cit.*, p. 323. He says that the fact that the deeds of man are generally preceded by volition is so obvious that it cannot escape even the simplest mind. It is on account of this that man attributes every event to will.

[21] *The Book of the Gradual Sayings*, Vol. V, *op. cit.*, p. 45. Monks are instructed not to decline to contest but to struggle on, saying to themselves the above formula of will cultivation; also, *Lalita-Vistara*, (ed. Vaidya P. L., Sanskrit texts No. I, Mithila Vidyapitha, Darbhanga, 1958,) p. 210.

[22] *The Book of the Gradual Sayings*, Vol. I, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30 and 265.

The fact should not be lost sight of that it is not only the past that conditions what a man is ; so many factors work at a time.[23]

F. *Karman and the Doctrine of Not-Self (Anattā):*
The Problem of Moral Responsibility.

The doctrine of *Karman* should also be considered from the view-point of its relation to the doctrine of *Anattā* (Not-self), because without a proper understanding of it many challenging questions remain unanswered. Immediately after revealing the Four Noble Truths to the 'Five Disciples' in his First Sermon, Buddha gave a complete discourse on the theory of *Anattā*. It is a denial of any true nature of their own in any of the five constituents of a human being viz. *rūpa* (body), *vedanā* (feeling), *saññā* (perception), *saṅkhāra* (habitual tendencies) and *viññāṇa* (consciousness) and, by the extension of the meaning, of the *attā* or the Self in the phenomenal realm. Thus far, there is hardly any room for confusion in the doctrine ; to this extent Buddha's position was not in the least opposite to that of the orthodox Brahmanical opinion about it as expounded in the Upaniṣads. But, what was his positive attitude and belief toward the problem ? And here the interpretations vary. Many scholars have said that Buddha emphatically denied the existence of Soul and that it was a meaningless term for him.[24] Contrary to it, Mrs. Rhys Davids took great pains to prove that Buddha believed in the existence of Soul, and for that she has given a number of Pali parallels already used in the Upaniṣads.[25] Her contention is shared by a number of scholars. What is most ironically to be observed in these views is that theses side with extreme categorisations which Buddha preached to avoid throughout his religious life. When directly asked about the questions like the existence of Self or the state of *Tathāgata* after his death, Buddha is reported to have adopted complete silence.[26] It was the most wise step taken by Buddha to reveal his stand on this problem. As it is, he considered that the problem stood beyond the sphere of word and taught.

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[23] *The Book of the Kindred Sayings* (*Saṁyutta Nikāya*) Part IV (translated by Woodward F. L.), Published for the Pali Text Society, by Luzac & Co., Ltd., London, 1956, pp. 155-56. Here *karma* has been recognized to be only one of the eight possible causes of pain and pleasure : " There are some sufferings originating from bile, from phlegm, from wind, from the union of bodily humours, from change of the seasons, from stress of untoward happenings, from sudden attacks from without, also from ripeness of one's *karma*. " Those persons who consider *karma* to be the sole cause have been criticized as going against reason and common experience.

The *Gītā* refers to the *Sāṅkhya* system which considers five factors necessary in the formation of an action. These are : the body, the doer or the *jivātmā*, various organs, divergent activities and, the last, destiny. These five go to constitute any physical, vocal or mental action performed by man, see, Ch. XVII, V. 13-15; the *Gītā* (*ibid*. 18) says that the doer, the action and the organ of action—these are threefold constituents of an action (*trividhaḥ karma-saṅgrahaḥ*). Indian thinkers distinguish three kinds of *karma-sañcita*, *prārabdha* and *āgāmi*. *Sañcita* is all the accumulated *karma* of the past responsible for the individual's character, tendencies, inclinations etc. *Prārabdha* conditions our present body and *āgāmi* is the coming *karma* which includes also that which is being gathered. The point is explained by an analogy of a bow-man with a quiver on his back. He has already shot an arrow from the quiver and with another is taking aim at a target. Now, the arrows in the quiver on his back signify *sañcita karma*, the arrow he has sent forth is *prārabdha karma* and that he is still to shoot is *āgāmi karma*. Of these he has every control over the *sañcita* and *āgāmi* and he has lost his control only over the *prārabdha*. Man is, thus, free to reform his character and make himself happy. See, Mahadevan, T. M. P., : *Outlines of Hinduism*, (2nd edition, Madras, 1960) pp. 60-61.

[24] Stcherbatsky, *The Central Conception of Buddhism* (3rd edition Calcutta, 1961) p. 59. Rhys Davids, T. W. : *Buddhism* (London, 1899), pp. 95-99.

The Buddha's doctrine of *Anattā* (Not-self) does not imply a total denial of 'Self but a denial of Self in Not-Self-is' things. Taking up the five constituents of human beings (named above) he explains that if these had a true nature of their own, it would have been possible for a man to say 'let my *rūpa* be so, let it not be so' and so on. But, this is certainly not the case and they are not regulated by one's whims and desires. The point is further stressed and made clear by advocating the theory of Impermenance which places everything in a series of flux, nothing remaining stable and permanent. None of the five components of the world is permanent, and what is not permanent cannot be a platform for pleasure and happiness : it would always cause pain and a sense of grief. And, what is liable to pain and corruption cannot be the Self of a thing. It is, therefore, absolutely wrong to think "It is mine, it is I, it is myself". On the contrary, one who has fully understood their nature would think "*netaṁ mama, nesohamasmi, na me so attā*" (i.e. it is not mine, it is not I, it is not myself).[27] It immediately recalls to mind the well-known Upaniṣadic expression '*Neti Neti*'—'It is not this, not this'.

Buddha, thus, evidently denies the Self in the phenomenal realm and does not deny it altogether. In actuality, the total denial of a Self is generally unimaginable. Buddha did not see any incongruity between a notion of moral responsibility and the doctrine of *Anattā* (Not-self). His clear enunciation that '*Karman* is one's own.... ' etc. goes to suggest that an individual is a pure product of his deeds and he himself is responsible for his actions. It is in his own hands to continue his suffering or to stop it. Buddha appears to have preached the doctrine of *Anattā* (Not-self) on two levels—empirical and metaphysical. When he laid down disciplinary rules for the monks or enunciated means like the practice of *samādhi* (contemplation) and destruction of craving etc. for the attainment of *Nirvāṇa* (Emancipation), he certainly meant that there was an agent who acts and experiences the results of its deeds. Immediately after it, we find ourselves on a paradoxical ground when he advises monks to contemplate on the non-existence of a permanent nature in a thing. The cultivation of mind in this direction is necessary on the metaphysical plane when one aims at perfection and enlightenment. Before the attainment of this stage of mental elevation the identity of agency in the doer and the experiencer of a deed cannot be gainsaid.

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[25] Mrs. Rhys Davids : *The Birth of Indian Psychology and its Develcpment in Buddhism* (Luzac & Co., Ltd., London, 1936), pp. 206-214.

[26] See, *The Book cf the Kindred Sayings*, Part IV, *op. cit.*, pp. 281-82.

[27] *The Book of the Discipline*, Vol. IV, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-21.

However, in Buddhism, belief in a substantial *jīva* is not considered necessary for the operation of *Karman*. In the Vedic thought *Karman* is the operation of an agent in the form of *jīva* (self) it is an invisible force which derives its origin from the latter. But, in the early Buddhist references *Karman* is not considered and characteristic of any recurringly present agent; 'it is not Self-made'. At one place in the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* it has been said that this body is neither self-made nor it is wrought by other; it came to be by reason of a cause (*hetu*) and it dies away by rupture of a cause.[28] Again, "This body, brethern, is not your own, neither is it that of any other's. It should be brought about by action of the past....[29] Likewise, explaining to Timbaruka the origin of pleasure and pain, Buddha is recorded to have said that it is not brought about by one's own self, not by another and also not by any chance but by the principle of causality (*Pratītyasamutpāda*) observable everywhere in the universe.[30]

From these references it is clear that Buddha believed in a beginningless and continuous chain of *Karman* and its results in which the doing of a *karma* (action) and the experiencing of its result are only two events appearing in the same stream. In the doctrine of Buddha the concept of a recurring and permanent agent is absent.

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[28] *The Book of the Kindred Sayings* (*Saṁyutta Nikāya*), Part I (translated by Mrs. Rhys Davids), Published for the Pali Text Society by Luzac & Co., Ltd., London, 1950, p. 169.

[29] *Ibid.*, Part II, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 17-19.

RĀMĀNUJA ON THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ XVIII.1 : AN ANALYSIS

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I

The first verse of the last chapter of the *Bhagavadgītā* raises the question: Are *Saṃnyāsa* and *Tyāga* identical or different?[1]

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[1] It has been said that all translation presupposes exegesis. The case on hand is no exception. There are at least four ways in which the verse has been translated. These are (1) that Arjuna wishes to know only the true nature of *Saṃnyāsa* and *Tyāga* severally, that is, of *Saṃnyāsa* on the one hand and of *Tyāga* on the other. The question of the distinction recedes in the background. This is how it seems to have been taken by Franklin Edgerton, *The Bhagavadgītā* Part I, Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1944, p. 163; Arthur W. Ryder, *The Bhagavad-Gītā*, University of Chicago Press, 1930, p. 125, Swami Swarupananda, *Shrimad-Bhagavad-Gītā*, Calcutta: Advaita Ashram, 1967, p. 365; D. S. Sarma, *Lectures on the Bhagavad Gītā*. Rajamundry : N. Subba Rau Pantulu, 1937, p. 200; J. Cockburn Thomson, *The Bhagavad-Gita*, Hartford : Stephen Austin, 1925 (?), p. 116; A. C. Bhakti vedānta Swami, *The Bhagavad-Gītā As It Is*, New York : Macmillan Co., 1968, p. 299; S. Radhakrishnan, *The Bhagavad-gītā*, London : George Allen and Unwin, 1948, p. 351, etc.; (2) that Arjuna wishes only to know the true nature of both together. This is how John Davies, *The Bhagavad Gītā*, London : Trübner and Co., 1882, p. 168 seems to take it. This rendering is hard to uphold—the expression *Pṛthaka* hasn't been taken into account at all; (3) that Arjuna wishes to know both (a) the true nature of *Saṃnyāsa* and *Tyāga* and (b) the distinction between the two. It seems to have been thus taken by Śrīmat Yatīndra Rāmānujācārya, *Śrīmat Bhagavat Gītā* (in English translation), West Bengal : Sree Balaram Dharmasopan, 1968, p. 408: Ernest Wood, *The Bhagavad Gītā Explained*, Los Angeles : New Century Foundation Press, 1954, p. 221: Charles Johnston, *Bhagavad Gītā*, New York : Flushing, 1908, p. 56: Edwin Arnold, *The Song Celestial*, Boston : Roberts Brothers, 1888, p. 168; Ann Stanford, *The Bhagavad Gītā*, New York : Herder and Herder, 1970, p. 120; Eliot Deutsch, *The Bhagavad Gītā*, New York : Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968, p. 130; etc.; (4) that Arjuna wishes to know the distinction between *Saṃnyāsa* and *Tyāga* above anything else. The verse is read thus by Śaṅkara (see A. Mahadeva Śāstri, *The Bhagavadgītā, With the Commentary of Śaṅkarācārya*, Madras : Ramaswamy Sastrulu, 1961, p. 441) and Rāmānuja (infra) and by Jñāneśvara (see H. M. Lambert, ed., *Jñāneśvari* (translated by V. G. Pradhan), London : George Allen and Unwin, 1969, pp. 235-236). It has been construed similarly by Swami Nikhilananda, *The Bhagavad Gītā*, New York : Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Center, 1944, p. 345; Swami Sivananda, *Srimad Bhagavad Gītā*, Rishikesh : Yoga-Vedanta Forest University, 1949, p. 767; Nataraj Guru, *The Bhagavad Gītā*, Madras : Asia Publishing House, 1961, pp. 657-658 and Shri Purohit Swami, *The Geetā*, London : Faber and Faber, 1935, p. 88, etc.

This paper is only concerned with the question of the identity or otherwise of *Saṃnyāsa* and *Tyāga* and not with other issues the verse might raise. That this issue is indeed raised by the verse seems to be beyond reasonable question. It is clearly covered by interpretations (4) and (3). The second interpretation is difficult to sustain and as for the first, a

This paper sets out to compare the answer one obtains to this question through Rāmānuja's *Gītābhāṣya* with the answer one obtains from the text of the *Gītā*[1] itself.

II

Rāmānuja's response to the issue of the identity of or difference between *Saṃnyāsa* and *Tyāga* is first to formulate the issue pointedly. He paraphrases the Arjuna's question in such a manner as to spell out the points at issue quite perspicaciously and perspicuously :

> The intention here is this. Do the two words '*Saṃnyāsa*' and '*tyāga*' have different meanings or are they of the same meaning? In case they have different meanings, then I wish to know their true nature as being separate (from each other). If, indeed, they are of the same meaning, its true nature should be explained.[2]

Rāmānuja then proceeds to formulate his answer. His answer is that the two words are synonymous. He clearly remarks that " the nature of these two is one only "[3] and also about " the oneness of the meaning of these two ".[4] Rāmānuja can be read as adducing the following main arguments in support of his conclusion that the two words mean one and the same thing.[5]

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discussion of the true nature of *Saṃnyāsa* and *Tyāga* must involve at least marginally if not centrally a consideration of the distinction, if any, between the two.

[1] To avoid cumbersomeness the *Bhagavadgītā* may be occasionally referred to as the *Gitā* in this paper.

[2] Sampatkumaran, M. R., *The Gītābhāṣya of Rāmānuja* (English Translation), Madras : Prof. M. Rangacharya Memorial Trust, 1969, p. 474. Also see Govindācārya, A., *Srī Bhagavad-Gitā with Srī Rāmānujācārya's Viśiṣṭādvaita—Commentary*, Madras : Vaijayanti Press, 1898, p. 521. Van Buitenen, J. A. B. summarizes : " Now what do both words exactly signify? If they are synonymous, what exactly is their difference? " (*Rāmānuja on the Bhagavadgītā*, S-Gravenhage : N. V. De Ned. Boek-En Steendrukkerij U/H, H. L. Smits, p. 162).

[3] Sampatkumaran, M. R., *op. cit.*, p. 474; Govindācārya, A., *op. cit.*, p. 521.

[4] Sampatkumaran, M. R., *op. cit.*, p. 476; Govindācārya, A., *op. cit.*, p. 522.

[5] A certain section in A. Govindācārya's translation of Rāmānuja's commentary seems to somewhat dilute the full acceptance of the synonymity of the two words by Rāmānuja. The relevant passage is spotlighted parenthetically in what follows from A. Govindācārya's translation of Rāmānuja on XVIII.2. " The contention here is whether the tone of the Śāstras (Authoritative Works) is for the abandonment of *Kāmya* works alone or whether it is for the resignation of the fruits of *all* kinds of works (*Nitya* etc.). [In the former sense, the term *Saṃnyāsa* is used and in the latter *Tyāga*. In both cases what is common is renunciation (of something or other). In this sense] both *Tyāga* and *Saṃnyāsa* are identical " (*op. cit.*, p. 522).

It appears to this writer that this translation is somewhat misleading on the following counts : (1) the first sentence of the parenthesized part of the quotation seems to suggest that Rāmānuja accepts the idea that *Saṃnyāsa* refers to *only* the abandonment of action and *Tyāga* to the fruits thereof. But Rāmānuja's actual position seems to be that in this verse *Tyāga* and *Saṃnyāsa* are used interchangeably without any such distinction, that they are synonymous.

(1) Rāmānuja observes in his commentary on verse XVIII.2 that " here " " He (Śrī Kṛṣṇa) has used in one place the word '*saṃnyāsa*', and elsewhere the word '*tyāga*'. From this it is learnt that the synonymity of the words '*tyāga*' and '*saṃnyāsa*' has been accepted (by Him)".[1]

(2) Rāmānuja next quotes XVIII.4 in his commentary on XVIII.2 and argues, it would appear, that though the question is about *Saṃnyāsa* and *Tyāga* the " decisive statement is about the word '*tyāga*' alone in the declaration "[2] and this shows that they are synonymous, one doing duty for the other.

(3) Rāmānuja quotes XVIII.7 in his commentary on verse XVIII.2 as showing that the *Saṃnyāsa* and *Tyāga* " are synonymous with each other". The verse refers to " the renunciation (*saṃnyāsa*) of works..... Their abandonment (*tyāga*) through delusion "[3] obviously using the words interchangeably.

(4) Rāmānuja also quotes XVIII.12 in his commentary as using the words *Atyāgins* = those who have not renounced, interchangeably with *Saṃnyāsins* = those who have renounced.[4]

Then he concludes : " It is conclusively established (by the Lord) that the oneness of the meaning of these two (words) necessarily follows from these. "[5]

It was noted earlier how Rāmānuja remarks that the decisive statement made by Kṛṣṇa is about *Tyāga* (and not *Saṃnyāsa*) in the present context. And for Rāmānuja this is important—for him of the two exegetically *Tyāga* is the primary category, although he regards the two as synonymous. Thus in his commentary on XVIII.4 Rāmānuja offers his own threefold classification of *Tyāga* in apposition if not opposition to the *Gītā*'s own (XVIII.7, 8, 9). He divides *Tyāga* into " (1) abandonment of fruit, (2) abandonment of the idea that self is agent, and thus of attachment and (3) abandonment of all idea of

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The issue for Rāmānuja is not *terminological*, namely, that abandonment of works intended for satisfaction of worldly desires = *Saṃnyāsa* and the abandonment of fruits of action = *Tyāga*. The issue is *substantive*, i.e. whether by abandonment (whether we call it *Tyāga* or *Saṃnyāsa*) we mean the abandonment of desire-prompted works or the abandonment of fruits of action, (2) the second sentence of the parenthesized part of the quotation does not seem to have a corresponding statement in the Sanskrit text as per Sri Mahavansastri, ed., *Srimadbhagavadgitā* (with Rāmānuja's *Bhāsya*), Bombay : Laksmivenkatesvara Press, 1959.

[1] Sampatkumaran, M. R., *op. cit.*, p. 475.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 476.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.* Govindācārya A., in his translation of Rāmānuja's commentary (*op. cit.*, p. 522) has slightly rearranged the material so as to read " That they are used synonymously and to signify the same sense is evident from such passages also....". Then he cites XVIII-4, XVIII-7, and XVIII-12, thereby putting the end-statement at the top.

authorship, with the realization that the Lord is the author of all action ".[1] This threefold distinction assumes further significance in Rāmānuja's commentary on XVIII.12. In this verse, as noted earlier, the two words occur in the same line and Rāmānuja uses the opportunity to further nail his position that *Saṃnyāsa* = *Tyāga* (*Saṃnyāsaḥ sa eva ca tyāgaḥ*). He glosses *Saṃnyāsa* as *Kartṛtvādiparityāgaḥ*[2] and *Saṃnyāsinām* as *Kartṛtvādiparityāginām*, thus applying this threefold division of *Tyāga* to *Saṃnyāsa*[3]. Furthermore in XVIII.66, the śloka which is " called the *carama śloka* (the final verse) and is reverenced in the school of Rāmānuja as containing a summary of the whole *Gītā* doctrine ",[4] the gerund *Parityajya* is from the root *tyaj* and not *as*. In his commentary on this famous śloka Rāmānuja again invokes his threefold classification of *Tyāga* referred to earlier, wherein he glosses the word *dharma* " as *Karmayoga*, *Jñānayoga*, and *Bhaktiyoga*, these, he says, must be practised with the abandonment of fruit and agency and authorship (the threefold *tyāga*)." [5]

It is clear therefore from the foregoing analysis that for Rāmānuja (1) " *Tyāga* and *Saṃnyāsa* are synonymous " [6] and (2) although they are synonymous he operates exegetically primarily with the concept of *Tyāga* rather than *Saṃnyāsa*.

III

One may move now from the Commentary to the Text. Do the two conclusions drawn on the basis of Rāmānuja's Commentary coincide with the conclusions one might draw from an analysis of the text above?

The first conclusion based on Rāmānuja was that the words *Saṃnyāsa* and *Tyāga* are synonymous. Can this position be sustained on the basis of a semantic differential analysis through a textual criticism of the *Bhagavadgītā?*

An analysis of the uses of the nouns *Tyāga* and *Saṃnyāsa* and of other forms from the verbal roots underlying the two words reveals the following:[7]

(1) The word *Tyāga* is used in the *Bhagavadgītā* in all senses of abandonment [8]—including

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[1] Hill, W. Douglas P., *The Bhagavadgītā*, Oxford University Press, 1928, p. 257, fn.2.

[2] Sri Mahavansastri, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 277.

[3] " Therefore, *saṃnyāsa* is the renunciation of one's interest in, and of the results of and one's agency of, one's acts and so is synonymous with *tyāga* " (Van Buitenen, J. A. B., *op. cit.*, p. 165).

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 269, fn.1.

[5] Hill, W. Douglas P., *op. cit.*, p. 269, fn. 2.

[6] Van Buitenen, J. A. B., *op. cit.*, p. 162.

[7] Jacob, G. A., *A Concordance of the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavadgītā*, Bombay: Government Central Book Depot, 1891, was used for this purpose (pp. 410-11, 968).

[8] I.33; II.3, 48; IV.9; VIII.6 etc.

(i) the abandonment of action[1]
(ii) the abandonment of fruits of action.[2]

(2) The word *Saṃnyāsa* is used in the *Bhagavadgītā* in the sense of
(i) the abandonment of action[3]
(ii) the abandonment of desires[4]
(iii) the casting of actions *on* something.[5]

On comparing the two uses we find that the word *Saṃnyāsa is never used directly in the sense of abandoning the fruits of action.* The word *Saṃnyāsa* is used in the sense of giving up action, of giving up desires, of casting off actions on say God or *Brahman* but *it is never used directly for giving up the fruit of action.* The word *Tyāga*, however, is used in all of these senses—and more.

The two words *Tyāga* and *Saṃnyāsa*, therefore, are not exactly synonymous. As a matter of fact *Rāmānuja has used the word Saṃnyāsa to carry a meaning it does not carry in the Gītā itself. He has used it to include the meaning of renunciation of the fruit of action which it does not have in the Gītā.*

The second conclusion drawn from an analysis of Rāmānuja's commentary was that although he regards *Tyāga* and *Saṃnyāsa* as synonyms he works primarily with the word *Tyāga*. Can this position be sustained on the basis of an examination of the text?

One would think so. It has been noted how the notion of *Saṃnyāsa* is associated with the giving up of action. But this is precisely what Kṛṣṇa does *not* want Arjuna to do.[5] Moreover, it is repeatedly pointed out that action is an ineluctable condition of existence itself.[7] Thus action cannot be given up : no *Saṃnyāsa* is possible in its gross sense. Nor is the abandonment of certain kinds of works desirable.[8] What should Arjuna do then? He could either give up personal motivation behind action or he should give up the fruits of action.[9] He should give up the underlying cause of action—desire (which is genuine *Saṃnyāsa*[10]) or he should give up the effect of action—fruits (which is *Tyāga* in one sense, not included in *Saṃnyāsa*). Now whereas the word *Saṃnyāsa* covers only the first option the word *Tyāga* covers both the options. Of the two, therefore, *Tyāga* is more fully representative of the *Gītā*.

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[1] XVIII.3, etc.
[2] V.12; XVIII.9, etc.
[3] XVIII.7.
[4] VI.4.
[5] III.30; V.13; XII.6; XVIII.57, etc.
[6] II.47.
[7] III.5; XVIII.11.
[8] XVIII.5-6.7.
[9] XVIII.11.
[10] VI.4.

To sum up: both the words *Tyāga* and *Saṃnyāsa* and their grammatical variations are used frequently in the *Gītā*. But so far as the text of the *Gītā* goes whereas the word *Tyāga* is used to cover the sense of abandonment in all its senses—including that of abandonment of action and that of the abandonment of fruits of action, the word *Saṃnyāsa* is never used in this last sense—that of abandonment of the fruits of action. Rāmānuja, therefore, does not quite conform to the *Gītā* when he treats the two words as exactly synonymous. Of the two words, however, he works with *Tyāga* rather than with *Saṃnyāsa* which is more in keeping with the tenor and texture of the *Gītā* than if he were to use the word *Saṃnyāsa* because of the semantic limitation of the word pointed out above.

The conclusion one is led to on the basis of a comparison of the discussion of the distinction between *Tyāga* and *Saṃnyāsa* in Rāmānuja's Commentary on the *Gītā* and the discussion on the basis of the *Gītā* itself is that whereas in his discussion Rāmānuja seems to overstep the ' letter ' of the *Gītā* he seems to quite abide by its ' spirit '.

BHOJA AND PRAKRIT LITERATURE: HIS KŪRMAŚATAKA

By

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History, legend and available literature have given a unique halo to king Bhoja, who ruled (*c.* 1018-60) Malwa from his capital in Dhārā, in Central India, for nearly forty years. More than his successful military campaigns, what has come down of him is his illustrious personality of a liberal patron of learning and of arts of peace. It is not easy to assess his uncommon ability and patronage to men of letters from a large array of works on various secular branches of literature like poetics, grammar, polity, medicine, astronomy, architecture, etc.

Bhoja stands before us essentially as a man of letters; and Sanskrit language and literature owe so much to him for their subsequent progress and prosperity. With Bhoja, why even all along, Sanskrit and Prākrit languages were not separated in the equipment of an all-round scholar, unlike to-day when the so-called Sanskrit plays are read only from the *chāyā* of the original Prākrit passages; and the verses from Prākrit anthologies (as well as the Prākrit passages from the plays) are badly edited and shabbily printed.

Even a casual peep through Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* of which we owe an exhaustive study (Raghavan V. : Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāra-Prakāśa,* Madras, 1963) to Dr. V. Raghavan holds before us a rich picture of Bhoja's acquaintance with Prākrit languages and literature.

Bhoja makes it plain that there is *aucitya* in the intelligent choice of language Sanskrit, Prākrit or Apabhraṁśa; and he is alert even to the use of *deśa-bhāṣās* (Raghavan V. : *Ibid.*, p. 186), which, in Bhoja's times, must be local varieties of the post-Apabhraṁśa. He recognises the melody of Prākrit gāthā (*Ibid.*, p. 370). He gives us useful information about Saṭṭaka, which, as the available specimens show, is a Prākrit counterpart of the Nāṭikā (*Ibid.*, pp. 540 ff.). He knows Kathās in Prākrit, such as Khaṇḍakathā, Parikathā etc. (*Ibid.*, p. 625), the language of which, is lately discussed by Dr. H. C. Bhayani (*JOI*, Baroda, XVIII, iv, June 1969, pp. 315-17). The same scholar has pointed that the Uparūpakas (*Ibid.*, pp. 545 ff.) like Ḍombikā and Ṣidgaka were written in Apabhraṁśa (*Vidyā*, Journal of Gujarat University, XII.i, January 1969, pp. 1-14). According to Bhoja, Pravahlikā, riddle verse, illustrated by *Ceṭaka* was partly in Prākrit ; and Manthullī was a short story in Prākrit (*Ibid.*, pp. 616, 621, 623). Not only Bhoja speaks of varieties of Prākrit and Apabhraṁśa, but also mentions types of composition in them (*Ibid.*, pp. 14, 35). He has quoted a Paiśācī passage (*Ibid.*, p. 850) ; and two Paiśācī verses quoted by him are, according to Āsaḍa, the opening *namaskāra* of the *Bṛhaṭkathā* of Guṇāḍhya in Paiśācī (*Ibid.*, p. 855).

Bhoja mentions a number of works in Prākrit (with quotations from some of them) : *Harivijaya, Līlāvatī, Śūdrakakathā, Indumatī, Setubandha, Gorocana, Anaṅgavatī, Ceṭaka, Mārīcavadha*, etc. It is quite likely that, like the *Abdhi-mathana*, the *Bhīmakāvya* was in Apabhraṁśa. He mentions Prākrit grammars attributed to Pāṇini and Kātyāyana about the existence or identification scholars have expressed various opinions (*Ibid.*, p. 747). According to expert opinion (*Ibid.*, p. 822) almost all the gāthās from the *Saptaśatī* of Hāla seem to have been quoted by Bhoja, besides a number of them from other works in Prākrit like the *Līlāvaī*. The condition in which they are handed down, are even presented in print, is deplorable for our standard of scholarship. To our relief, attempts are being made now to restore them to a correct form and verify their sources (Kulkarni V. M. : The *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* : Prākrit Text Restored, *Journal of Shivaji University*, I, pp. 11-8, July, 1968).

The most interesting contribution of Bhoja to Prākrit literature are his *Avani-Kūrma-śatam* and other odes inscribed on black stone (and discovered at Dhār in the southern Mehrab of the Bhoja-śālā in 1902) corresponding to the one which contains the *praśasti* of Arjunavarman (or *Pārijātamañjarī*) published by E. Hultzsch (*Epigraphia Indica*, VIII, ix, pp. 96 ff.). This Prākrit inscription is well preserved, so far as the *Avani-Kūrma-śataka* is concerned; but in the second ode there are some gaps, while other poems are so much broken in between that only a few words here and there could be read. The two odes (called A and B) are ably edited by R. Pischel (*Epigraphia Indica*, VIII, vi, April, 1906, Two Prākrit Poems at Dhār, pp. 241, ff.). He is the highest authority on Prākrit grammar and to him goes the credit of an integrated survey of various Prākrits in his monumental work (*Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, Leipzig 1900; English Trans. by Jha S. : *Comparative Grammar of the Prākrit Languages*, Varanasi, 1965).

The language of these poems is Māhārāṣṭrī. The record is carefully engraved. There is a serious mistake in A 65 : the correct reading should be *cakkammaṇamagge* for what is available *cammakkaṇamaggo*. In the light of the rigorous thoroughness, which characterises Pischel's grammar, he points out how there are inconsistencies of *anusvāra* and *parasavarṇa*, of *anusvāra* and *anunāsika*, of short and long *e* and *o*, of *vi* and *pi*, of *khu* and *hu*, of *n* & *ṇ*, and of *ẏ-śruti*. The text is engraved on stone, so there is no question of scribal errors in successive Mss. It means, therefore, that Prākrit writers are not very rigorous about these spellings. Pischel's observations and notes are a guide to all editors of Prākrit works. ' On the whole, however, the author must have mastered the language fairly well. There occur several forms and Deśī words which have not been met elsewhere. At the same time, there is a great uniformity both of the language and of the contents, so much so that the author sometimes repeats a whole verse without any alteration as in A 23 & 28, 32 & 33, 98 &

101, or with very slight modification, as in A 10 & 55, 14 & 101, 93 & 94. The half verse *na ya jāo nea jammihii* occurs no less than five times (A 10, 16, 48, 55, 85).

The Inscription contains two odes, each having 109 Gāthās, to the Tortoise incarnation of Viṣṇu. 'They have no poetic value'; but if they are to be relatively judged, the second (B), has some better poetic stuff than the first.

The poem (A), *Avani-Kūrma-śatam*, has three benedictory stanzas. To begin with, happiness for all is solicited from Pārvatī-nātha whose will supports the universe ; secondly, Kūrma is appealed to for protection ; and lastly, Śaśicūḍa, at whose behest Kūrma etc. support the earth, is prayed for happiness. The contents may be outlined thus : Blessed is the family that has given birth to the unique Kūrma which supports the earth on its brownish back to the last day. The mother is legitimately proud of this son Kūrma, unprecedented and unparallelled, who carries the load of the earth all alone. Birth in a species is ordained by fate, but this outstanding Tortoise commands brave effort in its task. Many struggle for their personal ends ; but the Tortoise has yoked itself for the benefit of others, quite silently and firmly. Nature has placed the polar star up, above on the earth, but the Kūrma has reached heights beyond limit through the brave deed of shouldering the earth at the cost of personal comforts. The path of struggle and service struck by Kūrma is unique. Many like elephant, boar, serpent have made a show of supporting the earth, but none can equal the Tortoise. The life of the Tortoise alone is worthy and praiseworthy : all others are just born (to die). Pischel observes thus on its contents : 'The author varies *ad nauseam* essentially two thoughts, viz., that nobody has carried the earth so well as the Tortoise and that no mother is so happy and worthy of praise as the mother of the Tortoise'.

The second ode opens with the *maṅgala* praying Śiva to bestow happiness on all. It is addressed to Bhoja who is the foremost (*dhavala*) among his contemporaries. The Tortoise, Boar, *Śeṣa*, etc. have borne and supported the earth, but you (Bhoja) have sustained it in such a way that all of them are put to ridicule. The earth is great, greater is the Tortoise, but greatest is the king Bhoja. The mountains and oceans had their greatness which has become now comparatively small in comparison with Bhoja's greatness. If masculines like Sarinnātha and Kulagiri weep that their greatness is gone, what of a feminine Dharaṇī, when she loses her greatness ! It is some animals which made the earth great (because of their weakness), but Bhoja by his manly strength had rendered it quite light. The lady-earth, like love-intoxicated maidens treating their beloveds, does not regard herself reduced to smallness by king Bhoja. That something is heavy or light depends on the strength of the porter : the earth was heavy for the Tortoise, but for you (Bhoja) it has become quite light. Bhoja sustains the earth (as its ruler) like a garment on the shoulder : back, head, etc. are used by others in carrying the load, but it is a novel way that Bhoja carries it as lightly as a jewelled bangle on the hand (i.e. forearm). What greatness is it for Bhoja that he has surpassed other animals like Tortoises, etc. in sustaining the earth ! Thus the second ode purports to say that even the Tortoise has been surpassed by king Bhoja who now sustains the earth.

As to the authorship of the first Ode, the gāthā No. 107 runs thus :

कुम्मस्स वि वीसामो दिन्नो एक्केण भोअराएण ।
हरिऊण वेरिआसं कुम्मसयं विरइअं तेण ॥

' Even to the tortoise rest has been granted by king Bhoja alone. By him this *Kūrmaśataka* has been composed after he had taken away all hope to the enemies '. Secondly, its colophon stands thus :

इति महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेवविरचितं अवनिकूर्म्मशतम् ॥ मङ्गलं महाश्रीः ॥

But the term *tae* = *tvayā* (in No. 109) is rather singular, because Bhoja has not been addressed in the first ode.

In the second ode (B), the Gāthā No. 109 runs thus :

कुलशिरिणो भूमिहरा सयला वि हु लहुइआ इहं जेण ।
तेण सयं निम्मविअं एअं सिरिभोअराएण ॥

' By whom the chief mountains, (nay) all the mountains here (on earth), have been reduced in weight, by this king Bhoja has this *Śataka* been composed '.

The fact that king Bhoja is directly addressed so often (B 5, 11, 27, 29, 42, 47, 52, 66, 69, 73, 78, 83, 88, 96 & 108) is sufficient to prove that he himself is not the real author. In the opinion of Pischel, which it is very difficult to set aside, these poems ' owing probably to the flattering contents of the second ode pleased king Bhoja so much that he allowed them to be ascribed to himself '. The interest and importance of these odes lie in the fact that they could with certainly be ascribed to the time of Bhoja.

The *Kodaṇḍa-kāvya* contains more than 575 verses. It is in Prākrit, and engraved on stone. The text has so many gaps, and continuous reading is not possible. Here and there it is also addressed to Bhoja. Its colophon reads thus :

इति महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेवविरचितः कोदण्ड...

Likewise, the *Khaḍgaśataka* has more than one hundred verses and the anonymous poem more than 575 of them. Here and there Bhoja is addressed. The text is not well preserved: only a few words can be read here and there. These are published, along with the two odes to the Tortoise in a book *Paramāra Inscriptions* (875-1310 A.D.), Dhar State Historical Records Series, No. 1, ed. C. B. Lele, Dhar, 1944.*

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* This is substantially the same as the paper read at the Bhoja Seminar, held in Ujjain, some years back.

A NOTE ON THE AḌHABHĀRA PLATES OF MAHĀ-NANNARĀJA

By

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The set of three copper-plates on which the record in question is engraved was found at the village Aḍhabhāra (also called Aḍbhāra and Arbhār) in the Sakti Tahsil of the Bilaspur District of Madhya Pradesh. The charter has been edited by Shri B. C. Jain together with facsimiles in *Epigraphia Indica*, xxxi, pp. 219-222.[1]

The charter was issued from Śrīpura.[2] It purports to record that king Mahā-Nannarāja, son of Mahāśiva-Tīvararāja, the well-known *Pāṇḍuvaṁśī* king of South Kosala, gave away, on the 12th *tithi* of the dark half of the month of *Bhādrapada* on the occasion of a *saṁkrānti*, the village of Kontiṇīka,[3] situated in the district (*viśaya*) of Aṣṭadvāra,[4] to a certain *Brāhmaṇa* named Nārāyaṇopādhyāya, who was a devotee of the Lord, i.e. Viṣṇu (*Bhāgavata*) and belonged to the Kauṇḍinya *gotra* and the *Mādhyandina śākhā* of the *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* of the *Śukla Yajurveda*. The gift village was made a rent-free holding endowed with all the usual privileges and exemptions.

The inscription is of great value for the reconstruction of the history of the *Pāṇḍuvaṁśins* of the South Kosala. Its importance chiefly lies in the highly valuable information of a historical character it affords about the achievements of Tīvaradeva and, what is still more important, the name of his son and successor, Mahā-Nannarāja, who is not known from any other source. This record, brought to our notice, for the first time, the fact that Tīvaradeva's dominions included Utkala (or a part thereof) and many other districts (*maṇḍalas*) besides the whole of Kosala. It is again from this epigraph that we learn that Tīvaradeva was succeeded by his son Mahā-Nannarāja, and not by his brother Chandragupta, as formerly supposed.

There is, however, an important point concerning the record that has hitherto escaped the notice of scholars, and the present note aims at focussing attention on this point. The contents of the charter may, for convenience of discussion, be divided into three parts. The first part, which we may call preamble, describes the donor and his father. The second part contains the king's order regarding the grant. It is followed by a couple of imprecatory verses extolling the gift of land and condemning its confiscation or interruption in its unhindered enjoyment by the donee. Thereafter in line 26 we are told that hereafter would follow verses composed by Vyāsa. The reference to verses is in plural,[5] indicating thereby that it was intended to quote at least three stanzas. But what actually follows this sentence is only the first two quarters of a verse with which the inscribed portion of the record concludes. Looking to the contents of other copper-plate charters of the *Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs* of South Kosala, which almost invariably follow a set formula, the present record, if completed, must have contained, after the assurance to quote verses composed by Vyāsa, not less than four stanzas.[6] These might have been followed by the mention of the date in regnal years[7] and perhaps the name of the engraver[8] as in most other records of the dynasty. The absence of these features clearly indicates that the record is incomplete, which fact is generally recognized.[9] It cannot be argued that the charter was originally incised on four plates and the fourth plate on which the remainder of the charter was written has been lost. For there is sufficient space, enough for writing four lines, below the last inscribed line on the inner side of the third plate which has been left blank besides the entire outer side. It must also be pointed out in this connection that the *Pāṇḍuvaṁśī* charters were invariably incised on a set of three plates. It is thus evident that the record was deliberately left incomplete. This is the only instance of its kind so far as the *Pāṇḍuvaṁśī* records are concerned. This fact calls for an explanation.

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[1] The text is also given in S. N. Rajaguru's *Inscriptions of Orissa*, iv (Bhubaneswar, 1966), pp. 40-41.

[2] Modern Sirpur in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh.

[3] It is doubtfully suggested to be identical with either of the modern villages of Kathakoni and Kotmi, both about 12 miles from Aḍhabhāra, the findspot of the record in the Bilaspur District of Madhya Pradesh.

[4] The ancient name of Aḍhabhāra, the provenance of the charter.

The fact that the charter was deliberately left incomplete is significant in the present context. It would seem that at first the grant had been sanctioned, and in confirmation of it the charter was prepared as usual. But when a major portion of it had been engraved on copper-plates, it was decided to withdraw the sanction for some reason which cannot be ascertained in the present state of our knowledge and consequently the record was not completed. It would then follow that the grant recorded in this charter was never actually made and the sanction was withdrawn even before the engraving of the charter could be completed. It is interesting to note in this connection that the seal and the copper-ring, to which it was soldered, of these plates are missing. This fact by itself would have been insignificant as we have numerous instances of copper-plate charters with their seals and copper-rings missing. But in view of the circumstantial evidence outlined here this fact appears to assume significance.

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[5] *Vyāsa-gītāṁś=c-ātra ślokān=udāharanti.*

[6] All the other *Pāṇḍuvaṁśī* grants contain four verses in the name of Vyāsa. Only the Lodhia plates of Mahā-Śivagupta have an additional stanza after the four usual verses in the name of Vyāsa and a request for the protection of the grant. It is not clear whether this verse is also intended to be quoted in the name of Vyāsa.

[7] The regnal year is mentioned in all the grants of the dynasty except the Mallar plates of Mahā-Śivagupta wherein the date of the grant is mentioned in connection with the royal command regarding the gift; but not the regnal year. The case is similar to that of the present record.

[8] The name of the engraver is mentioned in some charters whereas in other records it is conspicuously absent. The latter statement is true about the Rajim plates of Tivaradeva and the Bardula, Bonda, Lodhia and Mallar plates of Mahā-Śivagupta.

[9] *EI*, xxxi, p. 219.

Alternatively, it is likely that these plates represent an ancient attempt at forgery which was later given up for some reason.

In short, the charter is not a genuine record in so far as the grant intended to be conferred through it is concerned. This does not, however, diminish its historical value.

A MAHEŚAMŪRTI FROM SĀṄGAMĒŚVARAM (District Kurnool)

By

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Sāṅgameśvaram, a small village at the confluence of the river Bhāvanāśī and Tuṅgabhadrā is situated at a distance of about 55 kms. from Kurnool, Andhra Pradesh. It is approachable by a motorable road upto Muravakoṇḍa and then about 15 kms. further interior by a cart-track. The village contains a cluster of ancient shrines of which the temple described below is a deserted one wherein the seated image of a multiple headed God was found.

After a careful study of the same, it has been identified by me to be Mahēśamūrti, one of the aspects of Śiva under the broad-heading " Miscellaneous Aspects of Śiva."[1] The photograph described here of the Maheśa aspect of Śiva was found in a deserted temple in the same village.

The figure is seated in *Yogāsana* posture and has four faces of which three are visible. Four arms are clearly visible and the traces of the remaining two can be faintly seen since they are fully worn out and defaced. The front face is of the terrible aspect and two side faces are pacific. The eyes, nose and mouth of the central face are defaced. Faint traces of third eye to the central fore-head are seen. The three heads bear only *Jaṭāmakuṭa*. There are as usual *hāras* and *Yajñopavīta*. There are *Karṇakuṇḍala*s to the ears. The arms are having armlets and hands are having bangles. The hands carry the *śūla*, *akṣamālā*, a vessel like object and a *pāśa*. One hand is seen held in *abhayamudrā*, the other objects held by the remaining hands are not clear since they are much defaced.

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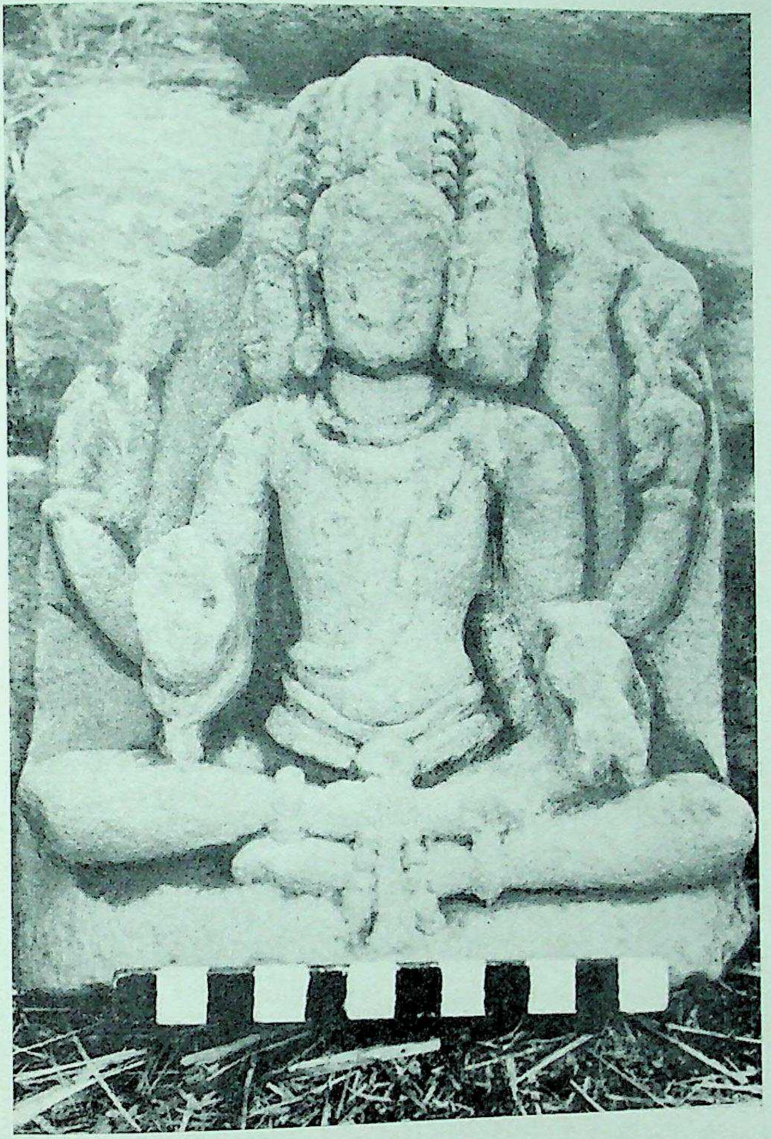
[1] According to *Suprabhedāgama*, Maheśa should have five heads, the faces of four of which should be visible ; each of these faces should possess three eyes besides a mouth, a nose and a pair of ears and should be placed above a neck each. Maheśa should have two legs and ten arms, two of his hands are to be held in the *varada* and the *abhaya* poses, while the remaining four right ones should keep the *śūla*, *paraśu*, *vajra* and *khaḍga*, and the remaining left ones the *khēṭaka*, *aṅkuśa*, *pāśa* and *ghaṇṭā*. The complexion of this aspect of Śiva should be crystal clear, having the lustre of the sun but cool as the dew of the moon, Maheśa must be clothed in white garments and should wear a white ' *Yajñopavīta* ' and should be adorned with all ornaments, etc. So far this is a very important one, since only one similar image was found in Gokak in the Belgaum district, (Reference: Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. II, part I, 1916, Gopinathan Rao, T. A., Chapter on " Miscellaneous Aspects of Śiva. ")



Maheśamūrti (Saṅgameśvaram, Kurnool)

A PAÑCA-GAṆEŚA PANEL FROM VĀRĀṆASĪ

By

P. K. AGRAWALA, Varanasi

Recent studies in Indian Iconography have put forth certain new or previously unknown aspects of Gaṇeśa images. One of them is the fivefold representation of this god. An 11th century relief showing five seated Gaṇapati figures has been published from the *Raṅgamaṇḍapa* of the Someśvara temple at Kirāḍu [1]. All the five figures on this sculpture show an identical icon-type of Gaṇeśa, seated in *lalita* posture and four-armed, but with a difference as to their attributes held in their hands, and the direction of the turning of their trunk. On the basis of their iconographic difference in the above two details, the five Gaṇapati figures appear to constitute two groups. The two figures on the left have their proboscis turned to their right, a feature quite uncommon in Gaṇesa sculptures. The rest of the figures, however, have their proboscis turned to the opposite direction, i.e. properly to their left.

The second sculpture more or less of the same nature has been published also from Rajasthan, this being from a Śiva temple at Jāmarolī, near Jaipur.,[2] This also belongs to the 10-11th century A.D. but differs in several details from the Kirāḍu relief. On the Jāmarolī relief we have no doubt a similar depiction of five figures but all standing in dance posture, and with halo above their heads. Moreover in this case not all the five are human representations of Gaṇeśa, the one, second from the right, being an elephant figure shown poised on a lotus flower in a dancing attitude and with the trunk turned to its left in the way we see in the other four figures of Gaṇeśa. The god represented in animal form is evident beyond any confusion since above it a halo is shown besides a rat below the lotus-rest similar to the portrayal of this vehicle of Gaṇeśa in the case of other four human representations.

A third sculpture allied to the above iconographic problem is being published here by us from Varanasi. [3] Stylistically the Varanasi relief can be dated about 800 A.D. and thus is earlier roughly by two centuries to the other two reliefs mentioned above. It is no doubt a good specimen of the *Gurjara-Pratihāra* art. It is a rectangular slab (width 99 cm., ht. 52 cm.) carved on both sides. The other face shows the reclining figure of Śeṣaśāyī Viṣṇu (*Plate I*). Presently the sculpture is lying in the debris under a big Pipal tree adjoining the Lakṣmī Kuṇḍa tank, Lakshmi Kunda Mohalla. The other carved side shows five figures seated in a row (*Plate II*). Though the sculpture is covered with a thick coat of vermilion paint and is badly injured in its details, the relevant iconographic features represented on it can be clearly made out.

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[1] Dhaky, M. A., "Kirāḍu and the Māru-Gurjara Style of Temple Architecture," *Bulletin of the American Academy of Benares*, Vol. I, Nov. 1967, Fig. 68.

[2] Agrawala, R. C., "Newly discovered Pañca-Gaṇeśa from Jaipur, Rajasthan", *J.O.I.*, Baroda, Vol. XXI, Nos. 1-2, 1971, p. 106, accompanying Pls. I-II.

[3] *Ibid.* Dr. R. C. Agrawala has already referred to this piece in the footnote of his article and was kind enough to draw my attention to the importance of this relief that was photographed by me in my iconographic survey of the Varanasi sculptures that one finds scattered here and there in this ancient city. Before it is too late such sculptures of outstanding value should be collected by the Archaeological Survey or the State Archaeological Department.

There are five elephant-headed figures of which four are those of the God Gaṇeśa, seated in *lalita* posture. But the figure second from our right is curiously an elephant shown standing facing to the front. The fore-portion of the animal is quite interestingly figured and represented between the two side Gaṇapatis in a manner that on first sight it may be mistaken for another Gaṇeśa figure. Its trunk hangs down and is coiled in the characteristic elephantine manner. It may, however be remarked that the lower portion of the trunk is coiled to the right side of the figure, whereas the proboscis of the Gaṇapati images is turned properly to their left.

All the four Gaṇeśa figures are almost alike in their form and almost nude wearing the *sarpa-yajñopavīta* as hanging round their protruding belly (*lambodara*). Their proboscis, as noted above, turned to their left in all cases as reaching to the sweet-meat bowl held in their left hand. They do not appear to be four-handed and it is not possible in the present state of preservation to make out what attributes were held in their right hand. The details are quite blurred and defaced.

Now it is reasonable to class this piece also with the Jāmarolī relief with which it bears striking similarity in having four Gaṇapatis and a fifth only in the animal form of an elephant. On the contrary the Kirāḍu relief shows Five Gaṇapatis in a row. The Varanasi panel is undoubtedly the earliest of the three specimens not only in date but also in its presentation of the iconographic concept in question. The Varanasi panel shows four seated Gaṇapatis with an elephant as the fifth but with no indication that the animal too is to represent the god Gaṇeśa theriomorphically. Next stage in the evolution of this iconographic theme is to be seen in the Jāmarolī sculpture belonging to a period two centuries later. Now the elephant figure is given unequivocal status of the divinity by the halo above the head and by the figure of Gaṇapati's vehicle mouse below. Moreover, the animal is shown placed on a lotus flower. It was not only to denote perhaps the use for him of the lotus-seat characteristic of divine iconography but also to help the sculptor in adjusting the animal figure in height with the standing Gaṇapati figures. From a passage in the *Skanda-*

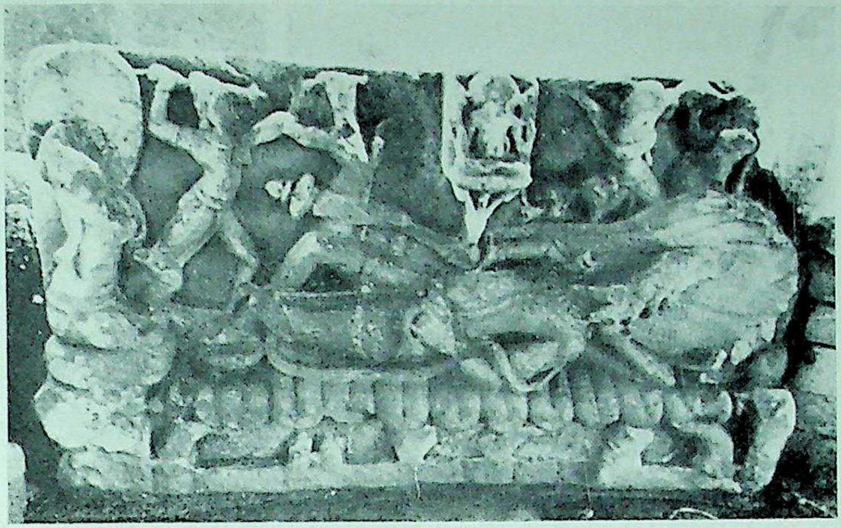

Fig. (Plate) 1
Śeṣaśāyī (Vārāṇasī)

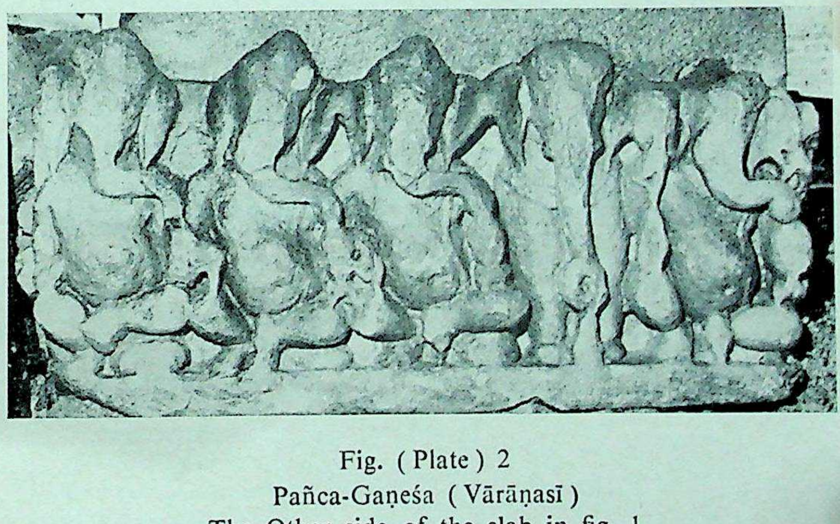

Fig. (Plate) 2
Pañca-Gaṇeśa (Vārāṇasī)
The Other side of the slab in fig. 1

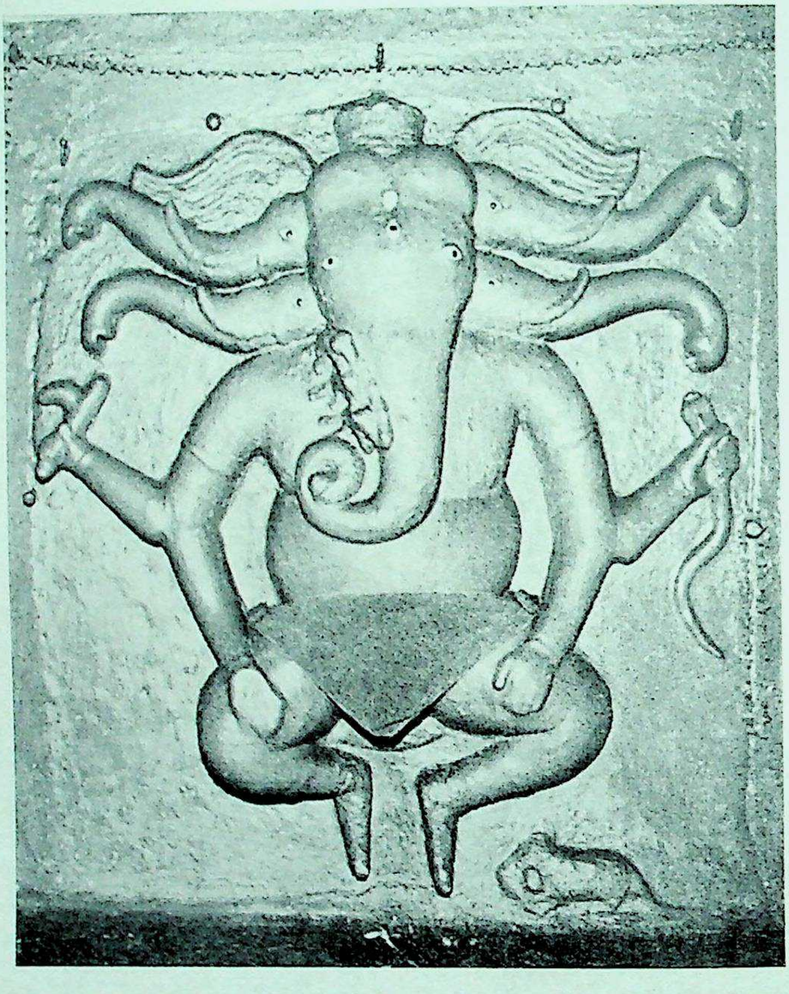

Fig. (Plate) 3
Five-headed Heramba Gaṇapati (Vārāṇasī)

Purāṇa (Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa, I.325.2) we are informed that Gaṇeśa was represented as an elephant figure (*gaja-rūpa*) at a place on the banks of the Ṛṣitoyā river in Prabhāsa.

The third stage in the iconographic evolution is witnessed in the relief at Kirāḍu which shows all the five figures as elephant-headed Gaṇapatis but with a new attempt at their grouping on the basis of the mode of turning of their proboscis and perhaps attributes in their hands. Presumably this belief in five-fold representation of Gaṇeśa gave rise to the five-headed Heramba-Gaṇeśa image that is known at present not earlier to the date of the Kirāḍu sculpture and in general seems to be a very late medieval innovation in the iconography of this deity. A sixteenth-seventeenth century stone icon of the five-faced Gaṇeśa is illustrated here (*Plate III*) from a shrine in Vishwanath Gali, Varanasi.

CĀMUṆḌĀ ON OWL

By

B. N. SHARMA, New Delhi

Cāmuṇḍā is one of the most terrific aspects of Śakti. The story of the birth of the goddess is narrated in several *Purāṇa*s and other literary works. According to the *Devī Māhātmya* section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, when Kāli had killed the two demons Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa, Caṇḍikā gave her the name of Cāmuṇḍā :

तावानीतौ ततो दृष्ट्वा चण्डमुण्डौ महासुरौ ।
उवाच कालीं कल्याणी ललितं चण्डिका वचः ॥
यस्माच्चण्डं च मुण्डं च गृहीत्वा त्वमुपागता ।
चामुण्डेति ततो लोके ख्याता देवि भविष्यसि ॥

—*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 85, 25-26.

The name of Cāmuṇḍā occurs in the lists of the *Sapta* and the *Aṣṭa-Mātṛkās*.[1] She is one of the sixty-four *Yoginīs*,[2] and is also referred to in the long list of the two hundred goddesses given in the *Matsya Purāṇa*.[3]

Several *Purāṇa*s and iconographic works mention the iconography of a Cāmuṇḍā image. The *Kālikā Purāṇa*[4] states that her complexion is like the colour of a blue lotus. She has four arms. In her right hands, she holds *khaṭvāṅga* and *candrahāsa* and in her left hands are *carma* and *pāśa*. She wears a tiger-skin and puts a garland of skulls on her neck. She is of a slender, long and terrible body with long teeth, a protruding tongue, extended ears, wide face and red eyes sunk in sockets. She is seated on a Kabandha:

नीलोत्पलदलश्यामा चतुर्बाहुसमन्विता ।
खट्वाङ्गं चन्द्रहासं च बिभ्रती दक्षिणे करे ॥

वामे चर्म च पाशं च ऊर्ध्वाधोभागतः पुनः ।
दधतीं मुण्डमालां च व्याघ्रचर्मधराम्बराम् ॥

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[1] See our paper—"An Unpublished *Sapta-Mātṛkā* Relief from Rājasthān", *Dr. Satkari Mukherji Felicitation Volume*, Varanasi, 1969, pp. 301-306.

[2] Nahta, A. C., "Causaṭha Yoginīyon Kī Nāmāvaliyān", *Śodha Patrikā*, Udaipur, October 1962, pp. 67-77.

[3] *Matsya Purāṇa*, 179, 10-32.

[4] Barua, B. K., "*Kālikā Purāṇa* on Iconographical Representations of some Śākta Goddesses and their Worship in Mediaeval Assam", *Professor P. K. Gode Commemoration Volume*, Poona, 1960, Section III, pp. 8-9.

कृशाङ्गी दीर्घदंष्ट्रा च अतिदीर्घातिभीषणा ।
लोलजिह्वा निम्नरक्तनयना नादभैरवा ॥
कबन्धवाहनासीना विस्तारश्रवणानना ।
एषा ताराह्वया देवी चामुण्डेति च गीयते ।

—*Kālikā Purāṇa*, 61, 88-91.

The Pujaripali stone inscription of Gopāladeva (12th century A.D.[5]), which describes the iconography of different goddesses, mentions Cāmuṇḍā as of dark complexion like the petal of a blue lotus, riding a spirit and terrifying the enemies in the battle :

नीलोत्पलदलश्यामा चामुण्डा प्रेतवाहना ।
गोपालेन रणेऽरीणां भयदा [भ]...... ॥

—Verse 10

Cāmuṇḍā in North Indian art is usually represented as an emaciated figure with her ribs and veins shown through the skin. She has a sunken belly with a scorpian mark on it, bare canine teeth, ghastly expression and pendent breasts. She wears a garland of skulls and ornaments of snakes and has a corpse as her seat.[6] In South India, she is shown as a youthful woman with dishevelled hair. She has a breast-band of serpents and a sacred-thread of skulls and a jackal is generally represented as her *vāhana*.[7] But in the images of the goddess from Nāgārjunakoṇḍā and Ellorā,[8] an owl is depicted as her mount, as also mentioned by the *Pūrvakārṇāgama*.[9]

Some north Indian sculptures of *devī* riding on her vehicle—the owl have been recently published under different captions.[10] Dr. R. Avasthi[11] has critically examined the problem of their proper identification and following T. A. G. Rao and C. Sivaramamurti, has rightly identified such images as that of Cāmuṇḍā. Besides it, this identification also gets support from an image of the emaciated Cāmuṇḍā from Sarāikelā[12], now preserved in the Patna Museum (Fig. 1). The image probably formed part of a *Sapta-mātṛkā* group and her *mātṛkā* aspect is clearly evident by the child seated on her left lap, An owl, the vehicle of the goddess is depicted on the pedestal with out-stretched wings. The image has been assigned to 6th-7th century A.D.

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[5] Mirashi, V. V., *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Ootacamund, 1955, IV, II, p. 591.

[6] Bhattasali, N. K., *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, Delhi, 1972, pp. 207-12. See also our papers "Śakti Sculptures from Central India", *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Calcutta, (N.S.) II, pp. 49-50, figs. 1 and 3; "Unpublished Pāla and Sena Sculptures in the National Museum, New Delhi", *East and West*, Rome, XIX, 3-4, pp. 420-21, figs. 12 and 14.

[7] Sivaramamurti, C., *Early Eastern Cāḷukya Sculpture*, Madras, 1962, p. 42, XV, fig. a.

[8] Sivaramamurti, C., *Geographical and Chronological Factors in Indian Iconography*, *Ancient India*, No. 6, p. 30.

[9] Rao, T. A. G., *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, New York, 1968, 1, II, Appendix C, p. 152.

[10] Agrawala, U., *Khajurāho Sculptures and Their Significance*, 1964, p. 68, fig. 47; Davidson, J. L., *Art of the Indian subcontinent from Los Angeles Collections*, Los Angles, 1968, p. 42, fig. 55; Dwivedi, V. P., "An Unusual Devī Image from Kanauj", *Oriental Art*, Oxford, (N.S.) XVII, 1, pp. 60-62, fig. 1; Dikshit, D. P., "A Unique Devī Image from Kanauj", *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, Lucknow, (N.S.) XVIII, I-II, pp. 55-61, pl. V.

[11] Avasthi, R., "An Unusual Cāmuṇḍā Image of Khajurāho", *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, Lucknow, (N.S.) XVIII, I-II, pp. 109-117, pl. IX.

The image of Cāmuṇḍā from Khajurāho probably formed part of a group of sixty-four *Yoginī*s (fig. 2). There is a quadrangular temple of *Causaṭha Yoginī*s outside the Khajurāho village. Three sculptures of Brahmāṇī, Māheśvarī and Mahiṣāsuramardinī (inscribed as Hiṅghalāja) were found from this temple. It is not very unlikely that the present sculpture was also enshrined along with other images in this dilapidated temple. This image now preserved in the local Archaeological Museum, is twelve-armed and carries a sword and a shield in the surviving two hands. The round bulging eyes and wide open mouth suggest her horried aspect. Her two hands might have been near the mouth, with index fingers touching the lower lip. This peculiar feature is also found in some other images of the goddess[13] and curiously enough in a contemporary standing image of the emaciated Cāmuṇḍā housed in Cell No. 31 in the *Causaṭha Yoginī* temple at Hīrāpur. But the owl, which is so prominently shown in the Khajurāho sculpture is absent in the Hīrāpur image. The image is an excellent example of the Chandella art 10th century A.D.

Several fragmentary sculptured panels illustrating human, animal and bird-faced *Yoginī*s seated on their respective vehicles in a row were discovered in 1909-10 at Rikhiām in the Bāndā district. The images, which are now lying in a temple made of stone blocks as at Khajurāho and Bherāghāṭ, have not yet been published. They carry deadly weapons like other *Yoginī*s and have been represented as youthful women with normal bodily proportions. The first image shows her carrying the usual attributes and riding on an owl (Fig. 3). But here, none of her hands are held near the mouth, as shown in some other sculptures of the goddess.[14] The image is datable to the Pratihāra period 10th century A.D.

Naresar near Gwalior was a great centre of Śakti cult during the late mediaeval period Numerous icons of goddesses in her different aspects were found at this place. Some of them were retained at the site, while a few were

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[12] Shah, U. P. and Gupta, P. L., "Sculptures from Sarāikelā in the Patna Museum", *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, XVIII, 1-2, p. 155, fig. 8.

[13] See notes 10 and 11.

[14] *Ibid.*

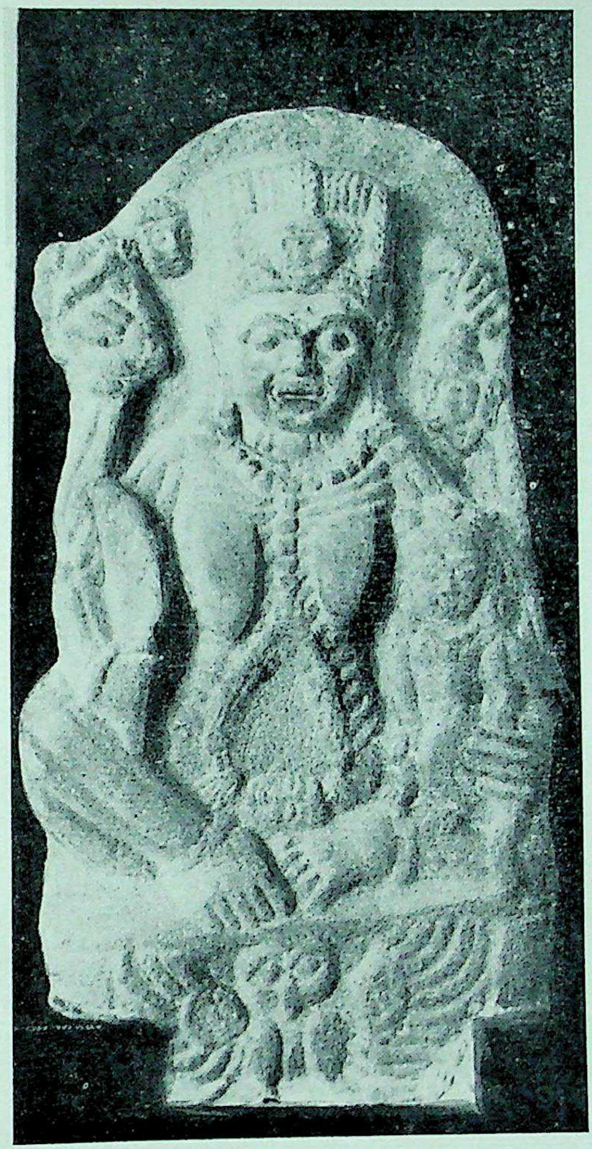

Fig. 1
Cāmuṇḍā (Saraikelā, Bihār)

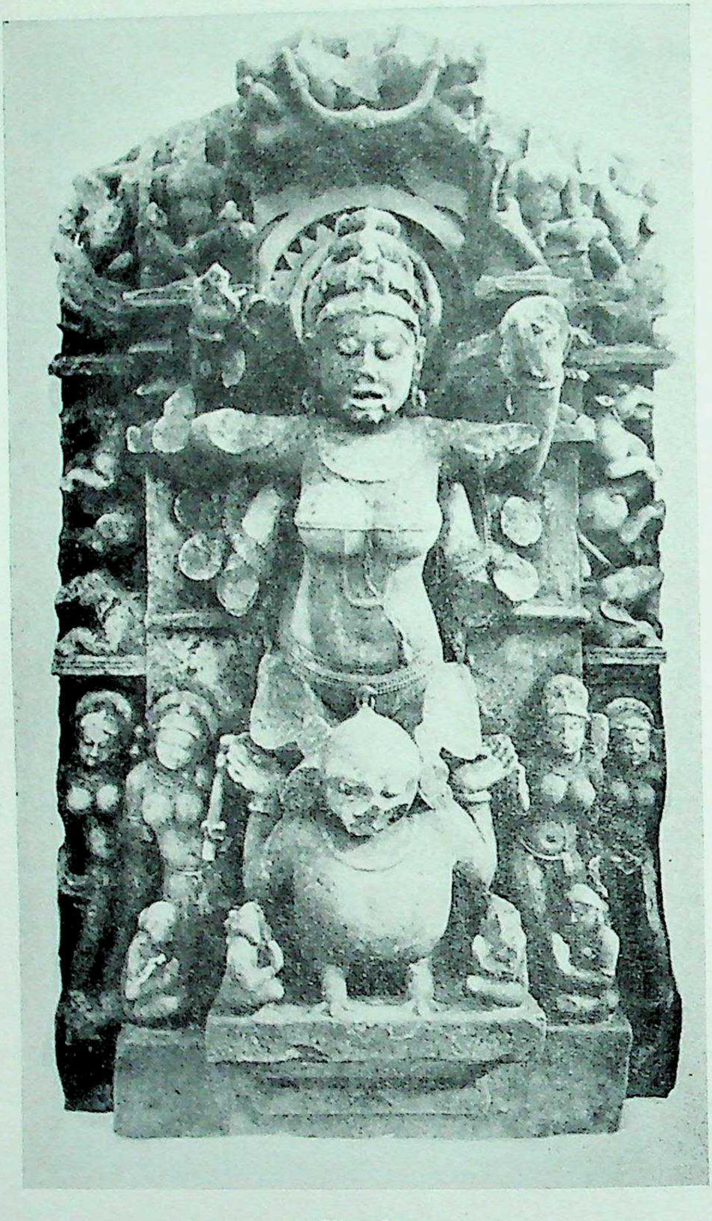

Fig. 2
Cāmuṇḍā (Khajurāho Museum)

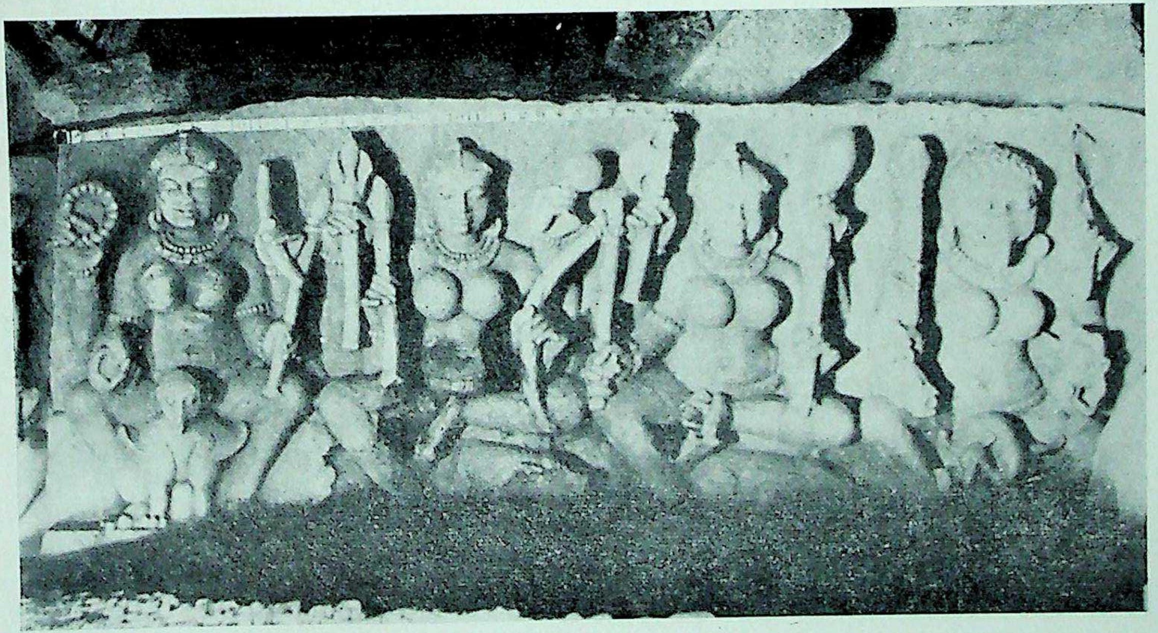

Fig. 3
Cāmuṇḍā alongwith three Yoginis (Rikhiam, Banda, U.P.)

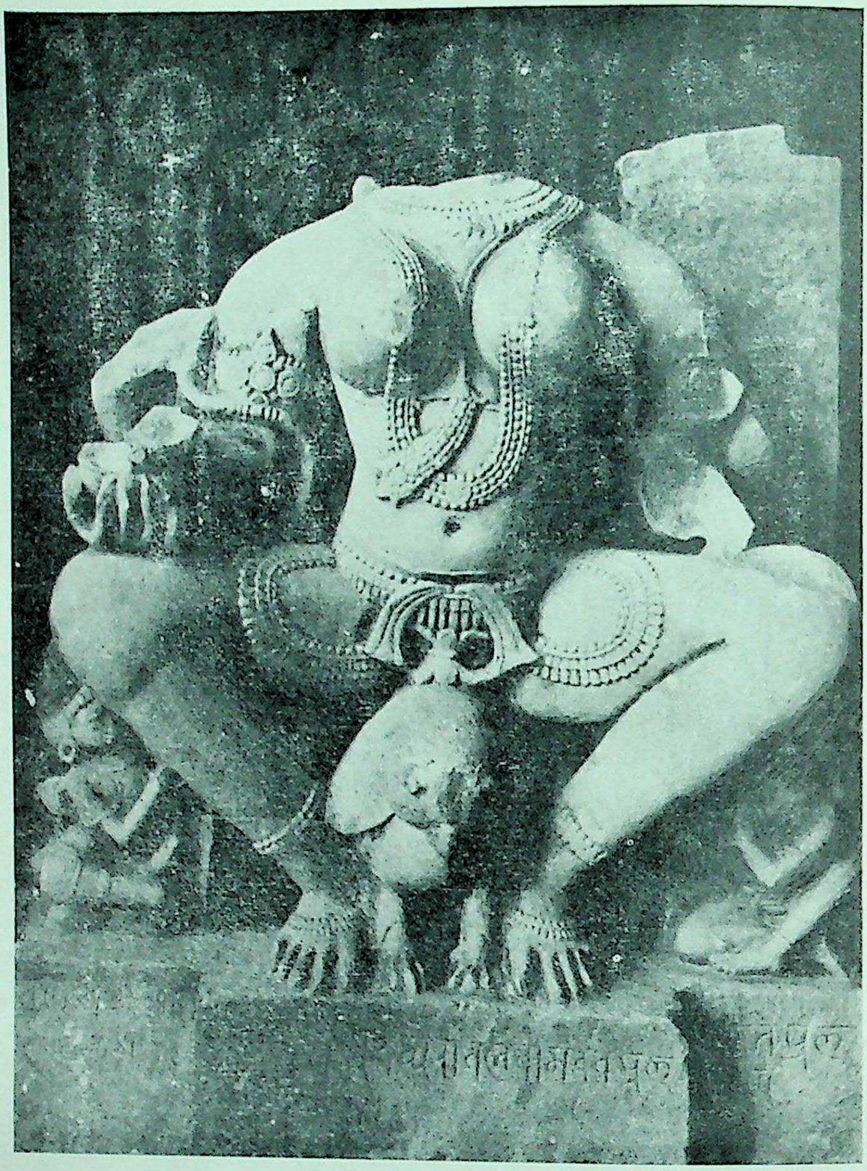

Fig. 4
Cāmuṇḍā (Gwalior Museum)

removed to the Gwalior museum. Among these, atleast two images show them seated on their *vāhanas*, the owl. The first sculpture though headless, shows the multi-armed Cāmuṇḍā holding a cup in her lower right hand (Fig. 4) reminding us of the Los Angeles image, where she carries a cup in the front left hand.[15] A kneeling devotee is depicted on her either side. The inscription inscised on the pedestal of image mentions her as ' Vāshṭhalī. ' The sculpture can be assigned to the 13th century A.D.

In another contemporary sculpture, the legs and the part of the body above the waist are broken and lost. The face of the owl is also slightly damaged. The pedestal bearing a mutilated inscription calls her ' Viarā. ' The two names referred to above have not been found in any of the lists given in various literary texts and hence, they appear to be the local names of Cāmuṇḍā, by which she was worshipped by her devotees in that region. Besides this, there are also separate temples dedicated to Cāmuṇḍa at various places in India,[16] where she is still adored by different names, and local fairs and festivals are also held on different occasions.

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[15] Davidson, J. L., *Op. Cit.*, fig. 55.

[16] Cf. Mirashi, V. V., *Op. Cit.*, p. 585.

SOME SCULPTURES FROM MĀSARA, DIST. BARODA

By

V. S. PAREKH, Baroda

Māsara, a village of Pādrā tālukā, (Dist. : Baroda), having a population of about 3,000 persons, is situated in the south direction at about thirty-two Kilometers away from Baroda city. Māsara-Road is its railway station on the narrowgauge rail-route going southward from Baroda to Jumbusar. The village is about one mile away from the Māsara-Road Railway-Station. Journey to Māsara can be made by Buses of Gujarat State Transport also. The village has got rich black cotton-soil, obtained in the south of Pādarā tālukā and the whole of Broach District. In Gujarat, this area is popularly known as Kānam. As we go near the village Māsara, the old mounds of the village are seen slowly rising and the whole village is situated on these old mounds. On examining the mounds, some brick-structures, are noticed. The measurement of the brick 14″ × 9½″ × 2½″, suggests an old habitation. At the entrance of the village, there is a step-well which is being used at present. The tank is used for irrigation. The old mounds preserving brick-structures and the post-Gupta sculptures obtained from this site, go to prove that the village belongs to an early historic period. And its mounds require further investigation to bring out their full archaeological potentiality. [1]

It is a happy incident that these beautiful sculptures are obtained from the Śiva temple of Māsara. These sculptures described and discussed here, were brought from Māsara and are now displaced in the compound of the Dakṣiṇāmūrti Temple of the E.M E. School, Baroda. They are six in number : (1) *Gadādhara* Viṣṇu, (2) Paraśurāma, (3) Kubera, (4) *Vīṇādhara* Śiva, (5) Mahiṣamardinī, (6) Mātṛkā Ambikā.

Gadādhara Viṣṇu : *Figure* : *1*

This sculpture measuring 64 × 36 cms. is carved out from sandstone. This four-armed Viṣṇu is called *Gadādhara* Viṣṇu because he carries, in his right upper hand, a long-handled mace reaching up to his feet. The right lower hand is seen in *abhaya mudrā*. The left upper and lower hands hold the discus (*cakra*) and the conch (*Saṅkha*) respectively. The image is standing in *samabhaṅga* pose. The lower part of the mouth of Viṣṇu is slightly mutilated. The Kuṣāṇa-type squarish *mukuṭa* with flames in the front is suggestive of his association with Ādityas. The rectangular crest in front of the *mukuṭa* is noteworthy. Beautiful curly hairs are falling on the two sides of the shoulders. Viṣṇu wears an *ekāvalī*, with a small rectangular pendant in its middle. There are *karṇafūlas* as ear-ornaments. The thick rope like band is tucked at the waist ; and its hanging ends attached to the waist-band form a semicircle. The image is covered with a lower garment, one end of which is hanging like a pāṭalī of dhotī reaching upto the ankles. The round face, short neck, the peculiar curves of the chin and lips, the wide open and rolling eyes and stump-like thick legs are noteworthy. Stylistically, this image may be ascribed to circa beginning of the 6th century A.D.

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[1] Dr. Mehta, R. N., Professor and Head, Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, M. S. University of Baroda, surveyed this site and expressed his opinion that the site belonged to the *Kṣatrapa* period.

Similar type of sculptures of *Gadādhara* Viṣṇu have been noted from Bhinnamāla[2], Tenne [3], Śāmalājī and Baroda [4].

Paraśurāma : *Figure 2*

This two-armed figure, also carved in sandstone, and measuring 82.5 × 21 cms., stands in *samabhaṅga* posture. The god holds a peculiar curved *paraśu* (axe) in the left hand while the right hand conveys *abhaya mudrā*. He is decorated with a traditional Kuṣāṇa type square caplike *mukuṭa* with crest in the centre. The curly hairs are seen falling on the shoulders. The *Karṇakuṇḍalas* in the ears, armlets, and necklace are similar to those of *Gadādhara* Viṣṇu. The lightly worn dhotī reaching upto ankles and a rope-like twisted scarf going round the waist remind us of the similar drapery of *Gadādhara* Viṣṇu of this group. The pāṭalī of the lower garment is hanging between the legs and one end of the scarf attached to the waist is shown with a big-loop-like semicircle below the navel portion.

The modelling, anatomy, *mukuṭa*, ornaments and *āyudha* (*paraśu*, the *āyudha* of Paraśurāma) are quite similar in style to those of *Gadādhara* Viṣṇu described above. This interesting image may be ascribed to circa 6th century A.D.

Kubera : *Figure 3*

This two-armed sandstone sculpture, measuring 85 × 42.5 cms. in size, is standing in *samabhaṅga* posture. The portruding pot-like belley and money-purse[5] in the left hand lead us to identify him as Kubera, the god of wealth. The hair are tied in *jaṭāmukuṭa* style, with a chignon on the head. The anatomy has close resemblance with that of the above-described figure of Viṣṇu, except its dwarfish and fat body. The *Karṇakuṇḍalas* in the ears, a necklace, *hastavalayas* and *keyūras* are artistic. The *Yajñopavīta* is seen passing from the left shoulder to the lower right side of the body. Just below the chest, a *bandha* (band) is running round the body. The drapery is similar to that of Viṣṇu except the two ends of the tightly tucked lower garment reaching upto the ankles, which are seen dangling on both the sides. Stylistically this sculpture can be assigned to *circa* 600 A.D.

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[2] Discussed and described by Dr. Shah, U. P. in his work '*Sculptures from Śāmalājī and Roḍā*', fig. no. 10.

[3] Dr. Majamudar, M. R. has also described the Viṣṇu-sculptures of Bhinnamāla, Tenne and Śāmalājī, in *The Historical and Cultural Chronology of Gujarat*, pages 208, 209, 318; plates XLII, XLIV, XC.

[4] The much worn out Viṣṇu-sculpture, lying in the compound of Bhīmanātha temple, Baroda, belongs to about 5th century A.D.

[5] If this indistinct object is a water-pot, and the raised right hand is in *abhaya-mudrā*, then the image can be identified as Vāmana—the incarnation of Viṣṇu.

Vīṇādhara Śiva : *Figure 4*

This excellent four-handed figure of *Vīṇādhara* Śiva is measures 77.5 × 34 cms. in size and stands in partly *abhaṅga* pose, as its right leg is slightly turned to the right. Iconographically this figure possesses peculiar features. Śiva holds a *vīṇā* in an oblique way in both the right and left lower hands while a mace in the upper right hand and a serpent in the upper left hand are noteworthy.

Śiva wears a *jaṭāmukuṭa* having a crest in its front middle portion, suggesting the classical tradition of the Gupta period. Śiva has round ring-like earrings which are generally shown in the ears of śaivite deities; besides the *rudrākṣa mālā*, *hastavalayas* of *rudrākṣa* beads and *rudrākṣa-keyūras* are also seen. It is quite significant that the image has got a third eye in the forehead. Śiva puts on a short dhotī (reaching upto the knees) which is tucked by the *kamarabandha* running round the waist. The bull mount is shown behind the lord Śiva. The bull appears to be walking and seems very forceful and realistic. The anatomy and moulding of the figure are similar to those of *Gadādhara* Viṣṇu. The sculpture is a fine specimen of the art of the 600 A.D.

Mahiṣamardinī : *Figure 5*

This is a four-handed sandstone figure of Mahiṣamardinī. The image, about 57.5 × 52.5 cms. in size is remarkable for its heavy modelling. The goddess has a *jaṭāmukuṭa* with a beautiful chignon on the top and wears an *ekāvalī* with rectangular pendant, *kamarabandha* of round beads or pearls encircling the waist, armlets and *kuṇḍalas*. Her heavy breasts may be noted. The Goddess is depicted in the usual *pratyālīḍhāsana*—in the act of hurling a spear against the chest of Mahiṣāsura—the demon in the form of buffalo. She is killing the Mahiṣa with *śakti* in her upper right hand and a long sword in her lower right hand. She holds a bell in her upper left hand and has grasped the mouth of the animal with her lower left hand. She has pressed the animal by placing her right leg on the back of the Mahiṣa. The lion vehicle, is found peeping from the right side as if to help the Goddess in killing the demon.

Like other sculptures of Māsara group, the bulging checks,round face, small curved lips and chin, small straight nose, wide open and rolling eyes with expression of joy on the face and heavy moulding are, quite striking. This sculpture belongs to the 6th century A.D.

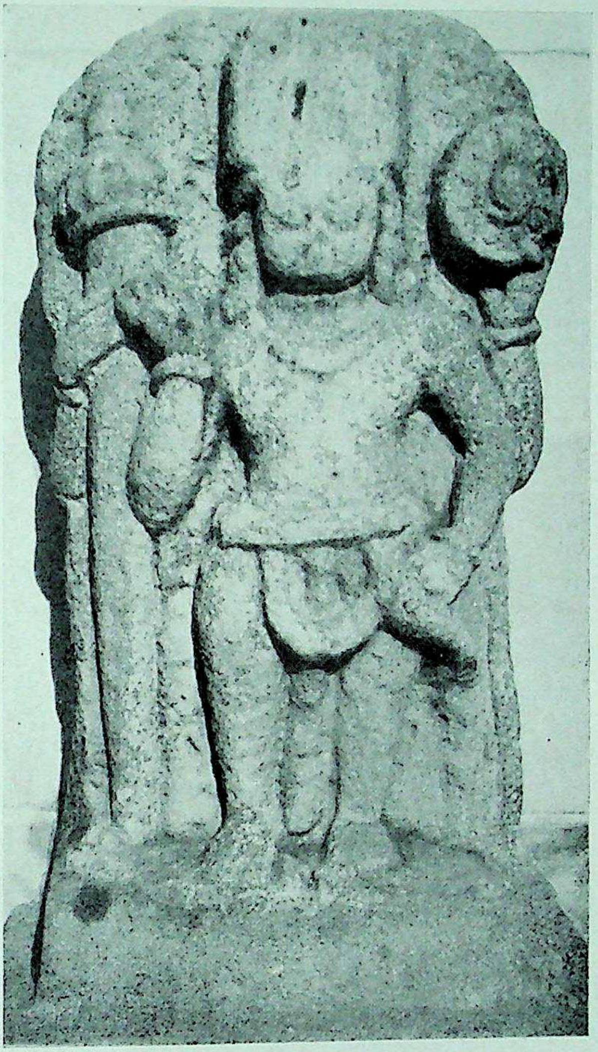

Fig. 1
Gadādhara Viṣṇu (Māsara, Dist. Baroda)

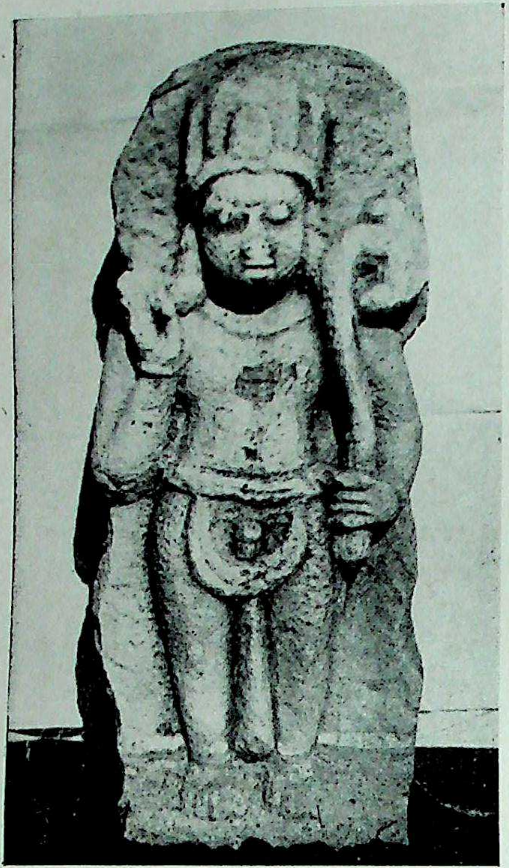

Fig. 2
Paraśurāma (Māsara, Dist. Baroda)

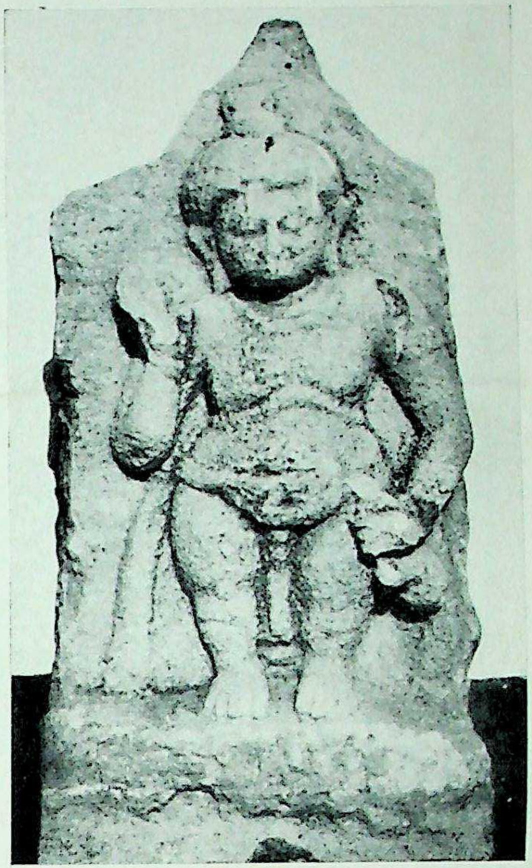

Fig. 3
Kubera (Māsara, Dist. Baroda)

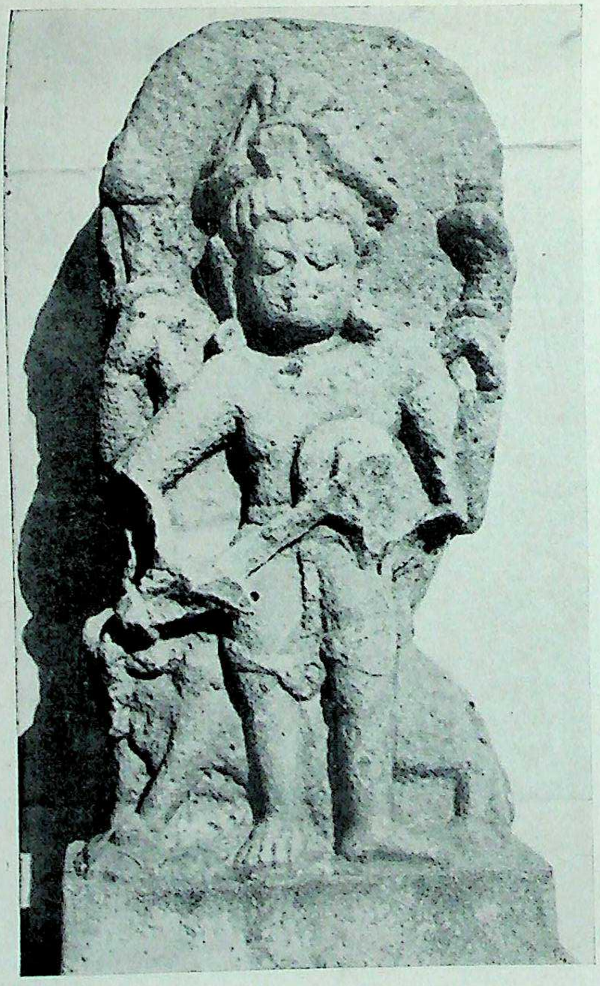

Fig. 4
Vīṇādhara Śiva (Māsara. Dist. Baroda)

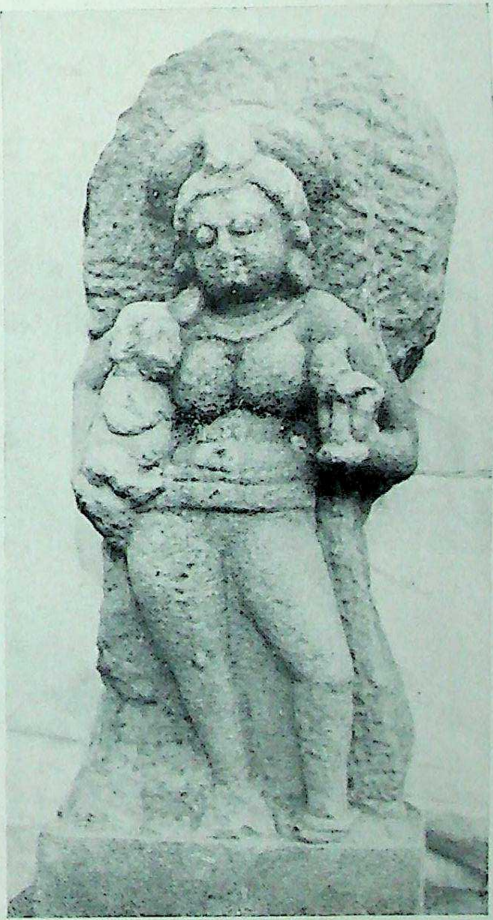

Fig. 6
Ambikā (Māsara, Dist. Baroda)

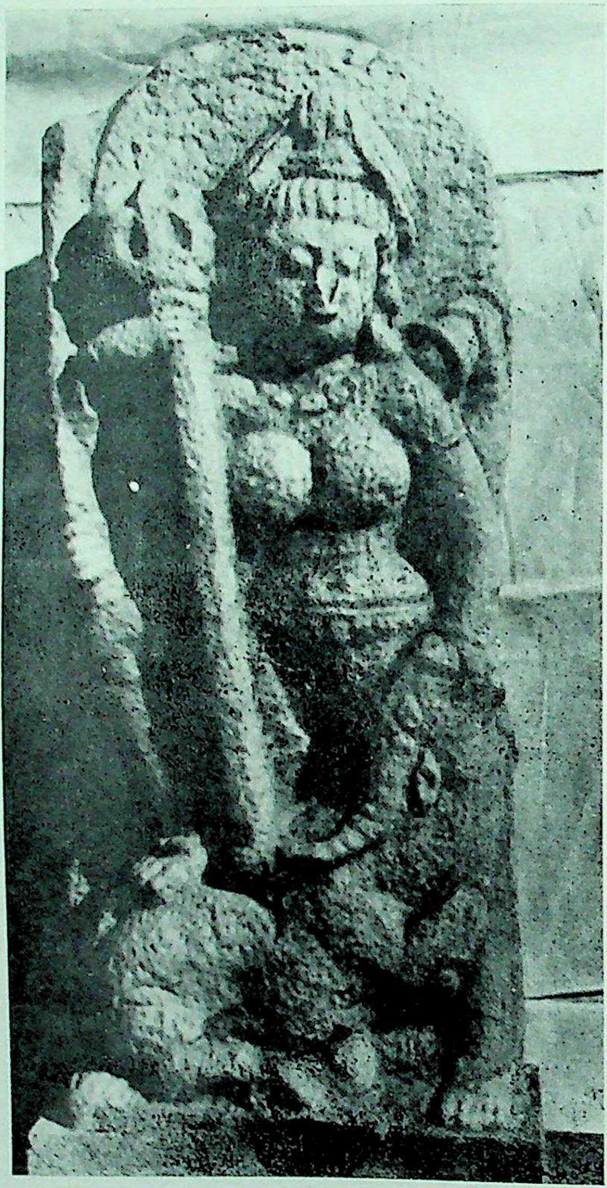

Fig. 5
Mahiṣamardinī (Māsara, Dist. Baroda)

Mātṛkā Ambikā : *Figure 6*

This beautiful figure of *Mātṛkā* Ambikā standing in graceful *tribhaṅga*, is also found from Māsara. This two-handed sandstone image (measuring 72.5 × 34 cms.) has no vehicle (*vāhana*) and the object held by her left hand is worn out. The mouth of the babe held by her right hand on her right waist, is slightly broken. It appears that the *mātṛkā* has held an *āmralumbi* (Bunch of mangoes[6]) by her left hand. And thus, the image can be identified as *Mātṛkā* Ambikā.[7] But its sculptural art, drapery, unique head-dress and ornaments seem to be śaivite.

The *Mātṛkā* wears an artistic head-dress with big chignon on the top of her head. The beautiful traditional crest in front of the coiffure is noteworthy. The tightly worn thin skirt and the scanty ornaments such as *Kuṇḍalas*, necklace, (Hāṅsaḍī), waist-band, armlets, bracelets and anklets make the figure more artistic. Similar images of the śaiva mātṛkā Ambikā with *āmralumbi* have been found from Ambikā Temple, Jagat (Rājasthāna) and Mātariā (Dist. Pañcamahals).

Thus, this *mātṛkā*-sculpture reminds us of the beautiful *mātṛkā*-sculptures from Mahuḍī (Mahesāṇā Dist.), Śāmalājī and Roḍā.[8]

The goddess with her round face, bulging checks, small curved lips, bulging wide open and rolling eyes, heavy breasts and thick heavy modelling of the body attracts one's view. This image is also dated to circa 6th century A.D.

Up till now, no definite historical or archaeological reference regarding Māsara (Dist. Baroda) is available from any source. But it is for the first time that Māsara comes out as an early historic site. From the evidences of the sculptures ranging from the 6th century A.D. upto the 12th century A.D., old mounds of the village and early brick-structures, it can be deduced that the village must have got the cultural, religious and historical importance right from the early Christian years upto the 12th-13th century A.D. The sculptures obtained from Māsara were kept in a newly constructed Śiva-temple. It seems that an old temple to which these sculptures belonged must have been destroyed by the ravages of nature and time and the sculptures saved from the old place must have been kept in the newly constructed Śiva-temple. Even to-day, a sandstone-sculpture of Mahiṣamardinī of the 7th century A.D. is found fixed in the wall, surrounding the Śiva-temple.

It is very interesting to note that the village Sarasavaṇī (Siri Simmiṇikā) of Pādrā Tālukā (Dist. Baroda) from where *Kṣatrpa* coins were discovered by Dr. R. N. Mehta, and the village which is referred to in the copper-plate grant of *Kaṭaccuri* king Buddharāja (610 A.D.) and in a Valabhi Grant of Dhruvasena III (653-54 A.D.), is situated in the north-east at a distance of about 8 miles from Māsara. Pipari, a village of Pādrā tālukā from where a Sūrya image of circa 8th century A.D. is obtained is 10 miles away in the north of Māsara. Sādhī (Sraddhikā), Āntī (Antikā), Āmalā, (Amalakaṭaka) and Bhadārā (Bhadrāraka) referred to in the copper-plate grant of Valabhi king Śilāditya III (676-77), found from Aṇastu of Tālukā Karjaṇa (Dist. Baroda) and also Sādhī or Sraddhikā referred to in the copper-plate grant of *Gurjara-Pratihāra* king Jayabhaṭṭa III (706 A.D.), issued from Kāyāvatāra (706 A.D.), they all are situated in the north of Māsara at a distance of about 8 to 9 miles. With a sculpture of Mahiṣamardinī of the 7th century A.D., Brahmā sculptures of the 11th century A.D. and with the habitation of the whole village on old worn out mounds, Sādhī also seems to be a site of early historic period. The area of Māsara and its surroundings are described as situated in Kheṭaka Maṇḍala, Bharukaccha Viṣaya and Korilla Pathaka of ancient south Gujarat.

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[6] *Āmralumbi* is generally found held by the Jaina Yakṣī, Ambikā.

[7] See the monograph on *The Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Ambikā*, by Dr. Shah U. P.

[8] Shah, (Dr.) U. P., *Sculptures from Śāmalājī and Roḍā*, (Fig. nos. 22 to 23; 25 to 40; 42 to 46.).

The robust bodies of the above-mentioned sculptures are more akin to the spirit and ideal of *Yakṣa* statues and of sculptures from Sāñchi, Bharhut and Mathurā and show the influence of the *Kṣatrapa* Age in Western India as reflected in the reliefs at Kārlā and Kaṇherī. With the discovery of two early sculptures (about 200-300 A.D.) from Āhwā (Dist. Surat), Dr. U. P. Shah has remarked[9] that an uniform sculptural art prevailed all over western India, right from Kārlā, Kaṇherī to Śāmalājī, with some local and regional differences in the modelling of the human figures. And as such, the sculptures from Māsara have heavy heads and bodies with the stump-like appearance of the short legs. They follow the art-tradition of the *Kṣatrapa* period in Western India, but their bulging[10] wide open and sharp rolling eyes differ from the wide open big eyes of the *Kṣatrapa*-figures. The simple lower garments of these images have no zig-zag patterns of the folds like Śāmalājī sculptures and represent a later stage. The sculptures are examples of the Western school.

As far as the origin, evolution and development of the Western Indian Art is concerned the Māsara images fall within its range of the second phase. The disproportionate and stunted human-forms of the first phase of the above-mentioned art-style have got some proportion in form in its second phase.[11] The Māsara sculptures having heavy heads and bodies with bold round faces and bulging checks are carved with short and stump-like legs.

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[9] 9. Shah, (Dr.) U. P. 'Gujaratanāṃ Be Prācina Śilpo', *Svādhyāya* (Gujarati), Vol. 9, issue No. 4, pp. 467-472.

[10] 10. Such expression of the eyes is found in two Bhairava-Sculptures of Baroda. See, '*The Historical and Cultural Chronology of Gujarat*', plate, XXX. Dr. A. K. Coomarswamy has mentioned that the depiction of such sharp rolling eyes is a peculiar trait of the Gujarati art. 'History of Indian and Indonesian Art', p. 101.

[11] 11. Shah, (Dr.) U. P., *Akoṭā Bronzes*, Pages 66-72.

VIŚVĀMITRA IN THE KALPASŪTRAS

By
Umesh Chandra Sharma, Aligarh (U.P.)

The *Sūtras*, as it is quite natural, generally provide important data about the *gotra* and *pravara* system among the Viśvāmitras. They have devoted a considerably large portion for the Viśvāmitras who occupy a significant place in our national and cultural history.

The *ŚSS*, however, appears to be an exception in this connection. It devotes a major portion to the legend of Śunaśśepa's sacrifice and the important role played by Viśvāmitra in it.[1] The narration runs parallel to that of the *AB*. The language and the style are also the same. It is certainly a repetition from the latter except minor verbal differences here and there which are of no importance. Viśvāmitra officiated as a *Hotṛ* priest in the said sacrifice (where Śunaśśepa was offered as a victim), Jamadagni, Vasiṣṭha and Ayāsya being the other prominent priests. Śunaśśepa could not be sacrificed partly due to good offices of Viśvāmitra. He adopted him as his own son and accorded to him the highest place among his sons. He was called Devarāta after this and became a famous Kuśika.

The *Sūtras* deal in detail with the *gotra* and the *pravara* systems of the family of the Viśvāmitras. These are as follows :—

1. The Kuśikas[2] have three *ṛṣi-pravaras*—*Vaiśvāmitra, Daivarāta* and *Audala*.[3]

2. Viśvāmitra, Devaśravas and Devataras—these are Śraumata—Kāmakāyanas. They have the following three *ṛṣi-pravaras*—*Vaiśvāmitra, Daivaśravas* and *Daivataras*.[4]

3. The Katas[5] also have three *ṛṣi-pravaras*—*Vaiśvāmitra, Kātya* and *Ātkīla*.[6]

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[1] *ŚSS* XV.17-27. Cf. also *AB* VII.13-18.

[2] According to the *BauŚS(P)* 31, the following are mentioned as the Kuśikas—Kuśikas, Pārṇajaṅghas, Vārakyas, Audaris, Māṇis, Bṛhadagnis, Ālavis, Āghaṭṭis, Āpadyapas, Antakas, Kāmantakas, Vāṣpakis, Cikitas, Lāmakāyanas, Śālaṅkāyanas, Śāṅkāyanas, Laukas, Gauras, Saugantis, Yamadūtas, Anabhimlātas, Tārakāyaṇas, Cauvalas, Jābālis, Yājñavalkyas, Vidaṇḍas, Bhauvanis, Saubabhravis, Aupadahanis, Audumbaris, Bhāriṣṭikis, Śyāmeyas, Caitreyas, Śālāvatas, Mayūras, Saumatyas, Citratantus, Manutantus, Mantus, others denoting the word 'Tantus' in the end, Bābhṛvyas, Kalāpas and Utsaris.

[3] *BauŚS(P)* 31, *ĀpŚS* XXIV.9.2; *HirŚS* XXI.3.12.

[4] *BauŚS(P)* 33; *ĀpŚS* XXIV.9.3; *ĀśŚS* XII.14.3.

[5] Katas, Sairindhas, Karabhas, Vājāyanas, Saṁhiteyas, Kaukṛtyas, Śaiśireyas, Audumbarāyaṅas, Piṇḍagrīvas, Nārāyaṇas and Nārāṭyas—these are the Katas.

[6] *BauŚS(P)* 35; *ĀpŚS* XX.9.11; *HirŚS* XXI.3.12; *AśŚS* XII.14.6.

4. The Dhanañjayas[7] have these three *ṛṣi-pravaras*—*Vaiśvāmitra, Mādhucchndas, and Dhānañjaya.*[8]

5. The Aghamarṣaṇa-Kuśikas have the following three *ṛṣi-pravaras*—*Vaiśvāmitra, Āghamarṣaṇa* and *Kauśika.*[9]

6. The Pūraṇa-Vāridhāpayantas have two *ṛṣi-pravaras*—*Vaiśvāmitra* and *Pauraṇa.*[10]

7. The Ajas also have three *ṛṣi--pravaras*—*Vaiśvāmitra. Mādhucchandas* and *Ājya.*[11]

8. The Aṣṭaka-Lohitas have three *ṛṣi-pravaras*—*Vaiśvāmitra, Āṣṭaka* and *Lauhita.*[12]

9. The Raukṣaka-Raiṇavas have three *ṛṣi-pravaras*—*Vaiśvāmitra, Raukṣaka* and *Raiṇava.*[13]

10. The Indra-Kauśikas also have three *ṛṣi-pravaras*—*Vaiśvāmitra, Aindra* and *Kauśika.*[14]

11. The Rauhiṇas have three *ṛṣi-pravaras*—*Vaiśvāmitra, Mādhucchandas* and *Rauhiṇa.*[15]

12. The Śālaṅkāyanas also have three *ṛṣi-pravaras*—*Vaiśvāmitra, Śālaṅkāyana* and *Kauśika.*[16]

13. The Hiraṇyaretases have three *ṛṣi-pravaras*—*Vaiśvāmitra, Hiraṇya* and *Retas.*[17]

14. The Suvarṇaretases also have three *ṛṣi-pravaras*—*Vaiśvāmitra, Sauvarṇa* and *Retas.*[18]

15. The Kapotaretases have three *ṛṣi-pravaras*—*Vaiśvāmitra, Kāpota* and *Retas.*[19]

16. The Ghṛta-kauśikas also have three *ṛṣi-pravaras*—*Vaiśvāmitra, Ghārta* and *Kauśika.*[20]

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[7] The Dhānañjayas are Kāriṣis, Āśvavatas, Tulabhyas, Saindhavāyanas, Uṣṭrākṣas and Mahākṣas.

[8] *BauŚS(P)* 36; *ĀpŚS* XXIV.9.6; *HirŚS* XXI.3.12; *ĀśŚS* XII.14.4.

[9] *BauŚS(P)* 36; *ĀpŚS* XXIV.9.13; *HirŚS* XXI.3.12; *ĀśŚS* XII.14.6.

[10] *BauŚS(P)* 40; *ĀpŚS* XXIV.9.9-10; *HirŚS* XXI.3.12; The *ĀśŚS* XII.14.5 adds Daivarāta to this list.

[11] *BauŚS(P)* 37; *ĀpŚS* XXIV.9.4; *ĀśŚS* XII.14.4.

[12] *BauŚS(P)* 34. According to *ĀpŚS* XXIV.9.7-8 and *HirŚS* XXI.3.12; only two are there—*Vaiśvāmitra* and *Āṣṭaka.* According to *ĀśŚS* XII.14.4; the three *pravaras* are *Vaiśvāmitra, Mādhucchandas* and *Āṣṭaka.*

[13] *BauŚS(P)* 34. According to *ĀśŚS* XII.14.6, the Reṇus have three *pravaras*-*Vaiśvāmitra, Gāthina* and *Raiṇava.*

[14] *BauŚS(P)* 39.

[15] *ĀśŚS* XII.14.4.

[16] *Ibid.*, XII.14.6.

[17] *MāŚS* XI.8.5.17.

[18] *Ibid.*, XI.8.5.18.

[19] *Ibid.*, XI.8.5.19.

[20] *Ibid.*, XI.8.5.20.

17. The Śāṭhara-māṭharas also have three *ṛṣi-pravaras*—*Vaiśvāmitra*, *Śāṭhara* and *Māṭhara*.[21]

18. The Sāhula-māhulas have three *ṛṣi-pravaras*—*Vaiśvāmitra*, *Sāhula* and *Māhula*.[22]

This is the picture of the *pravara* system of the Viśvāmitra in the *Sūtra* literature. The *Sūtra*s refer to Viśvāmitra in other connections also. In the *ĀgGS*, he is mentioned among the *Saptarṣis*, the others being Jamadagni, Bharadvāja, Gautama, Atri, Vasiṣṭha and Kaśyapa. The context is the *Adhyāya-Utsarjanam* (leave after completion of studies). In this rite seats are prepared by the student for the above-mentioned *Ṛṣis*.[23]

The *BauŚS* refers to the selection of the priests. It enjoins that *Adhvaryu* priest should be an *Āṅgiras*, the *Brahmā* priest should be a *Vāsiṣṭha*, the *Hotṛ* should be a *Vaiśvāmitra* and the *Udgātṛ* should be an *Ayāsya*.[24] Again, in the context of the *Ṛṣi-ṣṭoma*, Viśvāmitra is connected with the seventeenth *stoma*.[25]

It has been prescribed in the *Sūtra* texts that a person desiring victory over enemies should perform the rite known as '*Sañjaya*' of Viśvāmitra.[25] It has been stated in the *TMB* (XXI.12 1-4) that Viśvāmitra performed this four-day rite, defeated his rivals with its grace and got kingdom.

The *VaiŚS* mentions that four chief priests should be descendants of Vasiṣṭha, Bhṛgu Aṅgiras and Ayāsya respectively; remaining twelve priests can be selected from among the Kaśyapas, Bharadvājas, Bhṛgus or Aṅgirases. One authority says that *Hotṛ* should be a descendant of Viśvāmitra.[27]

A *tarpaṇa* should be made to Viśvāmitra after daily bath according to the *VaiGS* and *VaiDS*.[28] In connection with the *upākaraṇa—visarjana*, Viśvāmitra is prayed.[29]

The *MīDa* mentions that because a *Vaiśvāmitra* should necessarily be a *Hotṛ*, priest, therefore, the descendants of Bhṛgu, Śunaka and Vasiṣṭha do not have the right to be appointed as *Hotṛ* priests.[30]

Thus, it can be said in conclusion, that the Viśvāmitra family is one of the most important families of ancient India. There were several *gotra*s and *pravar*s among the Viśvāmitras. It has been prescribed in the *Kalpasūtra*s that a descen-

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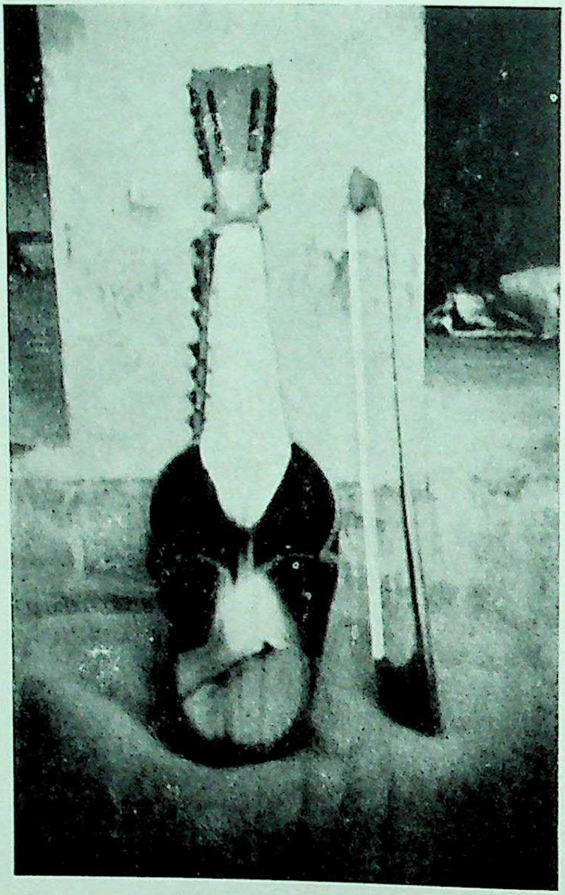
21. *Ibid.*, XI.8.5.21.
22. *Ibid.*, XI.8.5.22, 23. For the exhaustive list of the *pravaras* of the Viśvāmitras, see John BROUGH, *Early Brahmanical System of Gotra and Pravara.* Cambridge, 1953, p. 35.
23. *ĀgGS* 1.2.2.
24. *BauŚS* II.3.
25. *Ibid.*, XVIII.22.
26. *ĀpŚS* XXII.20.2; *ĀśŚS* X.2.25; *HirŚS* XVII.7.12.
27. *VaiŚS* XII.1.
28. *VaiGS* I.4; *VaiDS* II.13.
29. *BhGS* III.10.
30. *MīDa* VI.6.26.

dant of Viśvāmitra should officiate as *Hotṛ* priest in the sacrifices. Some of the *gotra*s and *pravara*s of Viśvāmitra *pravara* system are followed among the *Brāhmaṇa* families of the present day India also. For instance, the surname ‘Kauśika,’ is applied by some of north Indian *Brāhmaṇa*s.

Abbreviations

AB	*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.*
ĀgGS	*Āgniveśya Gṛhya Sūtra.*
ĀpŚS	*Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra.*
ĀśŚS	*Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra.*
BauŚS	*Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.*
BauŚS (*P*)	*Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (*Pravara-Khaṇḍa*).
BhGS	*Bhāradvāja Gṛhya Sūtra.*
HirŚS	*Hiraṇyakeśī Śrauta Sūtra.*
MāŚS	*Mānava Śrauta Sūtra.*
MīDa	*Mīmāṃsā Darśana.*
ŚŚS	*Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.*
TMB	*Tāṇḍya Mahā Brāhmaṇa.*
VaiDS	*Vaikhānasa Dharma Sūtra.*
VaiGS	*Vaikhānasa Gṛhya Sūtra.*
VaiŚS	*Vaikhānasa Śrauta Sūtra.*



'Candra-Sāraṅg'
(A Musical Instrument)

THE MUSICAL INSTRUMENT "CANDRA-SĀRAṄGA"

By

RANJIT KUMAR BANERJEE, Rewa (M.P.)

Candra-Sāraṅga is a new musical instrument invented by Padma Bhūṣaṇa Ustad Allauddin Khan which reflects aptly the music giant of India.

Probably, it will not be out of place to mention the wide range and variety of performances of the musical master Ustad Allauddin Khan. His style in Sarod has an effect of Vīṇā, Rabāba and Surshringar, based on the foundation of typical Dhrupad. His performances in Violin, though a bow instrument, is in the style of plectrum-instruments of Sitar and Sarod. He also arrests the typical "Jñāyana Śailī" covering classical as well as folk music, e.g. Kīrtana, Bhajana, Bhatiyali and Shayama Saṅgīta. He has the privilege of being master artist having a command on many more instruments, in general, Sarod and Violin particular. That is why his creative genius was in search of a vehicle for exposition, which compelled him to invent an instrument as Candra-Sāraṅga, opening new vistas of Music. Soon after the invention of this instrument, it was played in a few renowned music concerts by Ustad himself and was highly appreciated by the then musical exponents in the early thirtees of this century. Unfortunately, since then, it could not be pursued by any of his disciples.

As stated earlier, the master artist was always in search of a vehicle for expression and his biography, would assent that, at times, he got able disciples, no matter whatever instruments then played and at other occassions he played different instruments by himself to give his expression. We find his famous disciples, each having different style of his own, in their respective different instruments.

His restlessness, as ever with all creative genius, was always in search of a better and still better media. I humbly joined the link in the chain to help the master to materialize the creative imagination to warrant "Jñāyana and Tantra Śailī" both alike with the attributive values of Sarod, Sāraṅgī and Violin, all combined in this spectacular instrument which my master preferred to call "*Candra-Sāraṅga.*"

At present, this instrument is gaining much popularity in "Tantra-Śailī" when it is played with Sarod as its counterpart in duet. It has similarity in fingering technique with that of its counterpart of Sarod. It is played by a Sāraṅgī-like bow, on metal strings arranged in the pattern of that of a Violin. Its elevatory appearence is like a Sarod in miniature and its back portion tallies with that of a Sāraṅgī with an artistic look.

SALIENT THEMES IN POST-INDEPENDENCE SANSKRIT LITERATURE*

By

G. C. JHALA, Bombay

Even if the inclusion of Sanskrit among the living languages of India were originally on sentimental grounds, it is by now fully justified by the quantity and quality of creative works produced in the last twenty years. Sanskrit was never a dead language as Latin, for instance, was; and never will be if one were to take into account the varied and abundant output in the form of poems, plays, playlets, short stories etc. in Sanskrit. Dedicated votaries of Indian culture and the Sanskrit language like Y. Mahalinga Shastri, the late Pandita Kshama Row, Sannidhana S. Shastri, Haridas S. Bhattacharya, V. Raghavan, S. B. Velankar, C. G. Varnekar and a great many others have enriched Sanskrit by their compositions. Apart from original compositions, Sanskrit has gained materially through translations or adaptations of works in modern Indian languages, thereby acquiring new horizons in thought and expression. *Geetāñjali* from Bengali, *Saṅgeet-Saubhadra*, *Bhrātṛ-Kalahaḥ* etc. from Marathi, *Kalāpūrṇodaya* etc. from Kannada, *Pṛthvīvallabha* etc. from Gujarati—these are but samples of the efforts which help stir the still age-old waters of Sanskrit thought and expression and make it vibrant with the warmth of contemporary life.

Y. Mahalinga Shastri once complained about the position of Sanskrit today in the following words : " The language (Sanskrit) is alive to some extent through a succession of poets—born toilers in a desert but is a language of the dead past both to the knowing and the unknowing alike—for, the so-called lovers of Sanskrit today are so lost in their admiration of the Sanskrit that once *was* that they have no patience with the Sanskrit that *is* before their very eyes, struggling in the throes of a renaissance leavened with modernity, for catching their eyes, however much beaten down by their cynical contempt, proud indifference or timorous suspicions. Their efforts are therefore directed more to conserve than to oil the propellers to progress " (Preface, *Ubhayarūpakam*).

Now, in the case of a language like Sanskrit which has remained a cultural language fertilizing and enriching the modern Indian languages for more than a thousand years, this is perhaps inevitable. Mahalinga Shastri has himself drawn upon epic themes for his poems and plays. In *Prati-rājasūyam* (1957) a play in seven acts, he describes Duryodhana's resolve to perform a parallel *Rājasūya* sacrifice after sending the Pāṇḍavas in exile and his attempt to harass the Pāṇḍavas by sending Durvāsas as a guest at an odd hour of the day. In another of his play, *Udgātṛ-daśānana*, the episode of Rāvaṇa lifting the Kailāsa mountain and his discomfiture on being pressed down under its weight by Mahādeva forms the main theme. As a matter of fact, the incidents in the two epics and the abundant mythological material embedded in the Purāṇas still offer perennial inspiration to writers in Sanskrit. *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Rukmiṇīyam* by P. V. Bokil, *Pārijāta-haraṇa-mahā-kāvyam* by Sabhapati Dwivedi, *Bhartṛdānam* by Sannidhāna S. Shastri which is based on two Telugu poems (*Pārijātāpaharaṇa* of Mukka Timman (16th century) and *Tulasīdala-mahimā*), *Sāvitrī-caritam* (1961) by O. Atmaramashastri, *Dūtācyutam* (1964 ?) by Jayanti Pattabhirama are illustrative of the nature and range of the influence of the epic and Puranic material on modern authors. Legion is indeed the number of prayers, apostrophes, glorificatory or dedicatory invocations of gods like Śiva, Viṣṇu, Gaṇeśa, Śāradā, Ambā etc. found in periodicals and anthologies of individual authors; full-length poem like *Gaṇeśa-Saṃbhavam* on the pattern of *Kumāra-saṃbhavam* are also met with. Mythological motifs, e.g. introduction of gods and goddesses in a play modern in theme but ancient in spirit are utilized for instance in *Nārī-jāgaraṇam* (1966) of Shri Gopal Shastri for effects of contrast. More appropriate is the employment of mythological characters in *Kailāsa-Kaṁpaḥ* (note the evocative power of the title !), a radio-play by S. B. Velankar dealing with the theme of Chinese aggression in 1962.

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* Paper read in the P.E.N. Conference, Ahmedabad, December 1968. Spanish Translation by Rev. Dr. A. Esteller, S. J., Published in Boletin de la Asociación de Orientalistas Españos, Madrid, 1969.

Apart from religious and mythological themes, historical personages whose lives or actions symbolize certain basic principles of life and culture of our country have inspired many a creative composition. *Parivartanam* (1962) by H. G. Keskar dramatizes Aśoka's expedition against Kaliṅga, his grief at the terrible carnage, renunciation of war and acceptance of the Buddhist creed of *Ahiṁsā*. In *Cāṇakya-vijayam* (1967), the author Vishveshvara Vidyabhushana attempts to demonstrate the age-old maxim that physical power (*Kṣatriya*) when guided and supported by spiritual strength (*Brāhmaṇa*) leads to the stability and prosperity of a nation. The life and activities of the great Marāthā leader Shivaji have inspired scores of poems besides full-length plays and biographical sketches : even a playwright from Bengal, Haridas Siddhantavagisha Bhattacharya, is inspired to glorify Shivaji in his *Śivājī-Caritam*, a *mahā-nāṭaka* in ten Acts. The same is true of Laxmibai, the Ranee of Jhānsī who is glorified, among others, by P. Gopalakrishnabhatta in his *Jhānsī-Lakṣmī-bāī*, a poem of 255 verses. Incidents from Marāthā history are utilized as themes in *Abadala-mardanam* and *Pratikāra-nāṭakam* both by C. R. Sahasrabuddhe, the former depicting Shivaji 's encounter with and murder of Abdal-Khan, Commander of the Bijapur army ; the latter describing how Shivaji effected the release of his father Shahji who was imprisoned by Ghorapade ' Baji ' of Mudhol and killed ' Baji '. Poets like Kālidāsa and Jagannātha exert a hypnotic influence which finds expression in scores of poems or apostrophes, adaptations of their works or even dramatic presentation of their ' lives '.

Besides, many compositions, metrical or dramatic, deal with significant incidents in the lives of saints like Jñānadeva, Rāmadāsa, Tukāram and Mīrā. Typical of the lives of saints and noteworthy for modernity of thought and social consciousness it reveals is *Nandacaritam* (1964) a poem of 150 stanzas in *Upajāti* metre by Sannidhāna S. Shastri : Nandanār, an untouchable by birth and therefore a social outcast subjected to all the indignities to which members of his community were exposed, was an ardent devotee of Śiva : he ate no meat, drank no wine. He was prevented from entering the shrine of Lord Śiva at Tiruppunagar. Ultimately, Lord Śiva intervenes and blesses the sincere devotion of Nandanār ; and the moral is proclaimed : Be he a Brāhmin or an Untouchable by birth, a man is high or low by the way he lives. How, in common with modern Indian languages, Sanskrit, too, is not wanting in efforts at inversion of ancient characters is seen in *Unmatta-Kīcakam* (1960), a play by K. S. Nagarajan in which the theme is the old epic incident but Kīcaka is presented in a very favourable light. It has to be noted, however, that this play is based on a Kannada drama '*Kīcaka*' by Tyāgarāja P. S. Kailāsa with whom the transformation of Kīcaka's character has originated.

This broad survey of themes in Sanskrit literature would show that the past is looming large in the minds of our authors. Nevertheless, there is sufficient indication that modern poetic sensibility and sensitiveness is responding to the stimuli of contemporary life in all its aspects, political, social, moral, economic. Pandita Kshama Row's *Satyāgrahagītā* and *Uttarasatyāgrahagītā* attempt to chronicle the non-violent, non-co-operation campaigns of Gandhiji. S. B. Velankar's radio-play *Kailāsa-Kampaḥ* attempts to reflect the shock and dismay of our people at the violation of our northern border by China in 1962. *Jayantu Kumaonīyāḥ*, a play by Mrs. Leela Dayal, presents a *cameo* on the conditions at the time of the aggression by Pakistan in 1965. In fact, author after author is seen to bemoan the loss of our past glory and the present-day abjectness. In *Suṣuptivṛttam*, T. G. Varadacharya is full of anguish at India's dependence on the West and prays to the Lord to help us regain our pristine greatness. Though the Keynote of Indian Culture viz., universal love and peace is accepted as the ultimate ideal, yet we as a nation are unsure as to the means of attaining it. In *Bhārata-sandeśa* S. Bharadvaja recalls the message of universal friendliness through peaceful means in a world riven by competition, selfishness, imperialism and military power. Shivasharan Sharma reminds his fellow-countryman that he has inherited Buddha's compassion, Bhīma's strength, Kṛṣṇa's sense of duty, Bhīṣma's resoluteness etc. and exhorts him to rise and regain his place in the world ('Udbodhana' in *Jāgaraṇam*, 1963). Significant for its mood and attitude is *Bhāratīya-Śaurya* (1966) by Vasudev Dviwedi in which the author complains that India has remained passive and apparently peaceful far too long and has suffered at the hands of its enemies on that account. He is happy that for once Lal Bahadur Shastri practised *Tit for Tat* against Pakistan. Indeed, he asserts that the policy of *Tit for Tat* is the cardinal ancient Indian policy and cites passages from Vedic, Puranic and other sources in an attempt to support his view. This attitude is symptomatic of the change that is supervening in our national thinking. In fact, the problem of *Ahiṁsā* (non-violence) is exercising our thinkers seriously. In a couple of essays, which are argumentative in character and have little claim to be accepted as 'creative', it is contended that the statement *Ahiṁsā paramo Dharmaḥ* (Non-violence is the highest Dharma) betrays intellectual adolescence; that *Ahiṁsā* (non-violence) is invaluable as an article of religious faith but totally irrelevant and useless in everyday living and more so in politics. In any case, the temper of the present-day writer in Sanskrit, like his counterparts in other modern languages, is positive, activist. This is abundantly shown, for instance, by the poems, biographical sketches, plays etc. composed by way of a tribute to contemporary national leaders in all the fields, political, social, religious, whose lives or activities have contributed to the uplift and regeneration of our motherland. Gandhiji, Jawaharlal Nehru, Lokamanya Tilak, V. D. Savarkar, Swami Dayananda, Swami Vivekananda and, above all, Subhashchandra Bose— these are cherished names: and the trial they have blazed and the missionary dedication with which they betook themselves to the task of national regeneration are gratefully acknowledged. Two events, viz. the attainment of national Independence and the assassination of Gandhiji have moved many a sensitive soul to poetic expression charged with intensity of feeling. While human feelings like love and natural phenomena like spring, sunset, clouds etc. which constitute staple themes for poetic expression continue to fascinate and inspire the contemporary creative writer, a growing interest in the more immediate and pressing facts and facets of life is clearly discernible in him. The awakening of women is welcomed but her westernization is bemoaned, for instance, in *Nārī-jāgaraṇam* by Gopal Shastri. The tragedy of the modern young man who has received Western education and has as a result developed hatred towards things Indian, especially life and customs in the village, the hardships of the masses aggravated since Independence, corruption in political life and administrative machinery, the capitalist hold on the economic life of the people— these and other similar facts of life today are dealt with in verse or drama with poignancy born of immediacy of experience—with disappointment, anger, anguish, often with the help of satire. *Kaṇṭakāñjali* (1965) is an unusually successful anthology of satirical verses charged with withering scorn or irony over the different aspects of the *malaise* that is gripping our national life. *Kṛṣakāṇām Nāgapāśaḥ*, a short play by Bhagirath Prasad (1958) vividly depicts the distress and helplessness of farmers even under Congress ministries and the solace and hope which they seek and receive personally from Gandhiji. More interesting, however, are the efforts to picture the socio-economic conditions of the masses—

the simple village-folk with their social and religious inhibitions, ground down by poverty and yet revealing genuine human qualities of sympathy, selflessness, generosity etc. which make life worthwhile. The short stories of Pandita Kshama Row dealing with the problems of the common man in remote villages of India with his hopes and fears, aspirations and expectations represent a successful handling of the medium of the short story in Sanskrit.

This trend encourages one to feel that Sanskrit which has had a glorious past bids fair to have a glorious future as well.

A NOTE ON ŚĀLABHAÑJIKĀ MOTIF

By

S. N. **Prasad**, Pilani (Rajasthan)

Śālabhañjikā was a very popular game among the ladies of eastern India in the ancient period. According to Dr. Vogel: "It is interesting that these games are said to be peculiar to Eastern India as this tallies with the mention of the *Śālabhañjikā* festival in Buddhist literature. It is evidently Magadha, the cradle of Buddhism, and the neighbouring countries, that may be taken to have been its home."[1]

A vivid account of *Śālabhañjikā* is found in the *Avadānaśataka*, "Once the Lord Buddha dwelt at Śrāvastī in the Jêtavana, the garden of Anathapinḍala. Now at that very time, the festival called *Śālabhañjikā* was being celebrated at Śrāvastī. Several hundred thousands of beings assembled there and, having gathered *Śāla* blossoms, they played, made merry and roamed about.[2] The *Nidānakathā*[3] gives a graphic description of the *Śālabhañjikā* festival celebrated in the Lumbinī garden: "Now between the two towns (Kapilavatthu and Devadaha), there is an auspicious grove of *Śāla* trees belonging to the people of both cities, and called Lumbinī grove. At that time, from the roots to the topmost branches, it was one mass of full-blown flowers; and amidst the branches swarms of fine coloured bees, and flocks of birds of different kinds, roamed, warbling sweetly. The whole of Lumbinī grove was like a wood of variegated creepers or the well-decorated banqueting hall of some mighty king. The queen beholding it, was filled with the desire of disporting herself in the *śāla* grove; and the attendents entered the wood with the Queen. When she came to the root of an auspicious *śāla* tree, she wanted to take hold of a branch of it. The branch, being bending down, like a reed heated by the steam, approached within reach of her hand. Stretching out her hand, she took hold of the branch and then her pains came upon her."[4]

Pāṇini has mentioned the sports of eastern India,[5] for which he frames proper grammatical formations. As illustrations the *Kāśikā* mentions the following: *Uddālaka-puṣpa-bhañjikā*, *Vīraṇa-puṣpa-prachāyikā*, *Śāla-bhañjikā*, *Tāla-bhañjikā*.[6] Rule VI.2.74 regulating the accents in the compound names of

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1. Vogel, *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. VII, pp. 203-4.
2. *Avadānaśataka*, p. 201.
3. *Nidānakathā*, Jat. 1.52.
4. Cf. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, London, 1880, Vol. I, p. 66.
5. *Ashṭādhyāyī*, VI. 2 74.
6. *Ibid.*, II. 2.17.

these sports shows that Pāṇini was acquainted with the institutions of social life and national sports of the remote regions of eastern India.[7]

The *Śālabhañjikā* motif has been discussed in great detail in the *Jayamaṅgalā Ṭikā* of the *Kāmasûtra* of Vātsyāyana.[8] The motif of the woman plucking flowers from a distended bough is met with on the *toraṇas* of Bharhut and Sānchī in the *Suṅga* period and is continued on the railing pillars of Mathurā during the *Kuśāṇa* period.[9]

Vātsyāyana mentions as examples of *deśya krīḍās* (local sports), similar names ending in aka suffix, e.g. *Sabakārabhañjikā*, *Abbyūṣakhādikā*.[10] It is significant to note that plucking of flowers or fruits should be done by hands.[11]

Kālidāsa has mentioned *Yôṣita* sculptures carved on pillars of the palaces.[12] He has not used the word *Śālabhañjikā*. From the nature of the description of Kālidāsa, it is evident that he is describing about the Woman and Tree motif. From this reference, it can also be postulated that perhaps the term *Śālabhañjikā* was not a very popular term in the time of this celebrated poet. Later on, the carved sculptures of women on the pillars or railings in any posture have been described as *Stambha-Śālabhañjikās*. In the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa[13], the goddess Lakşmī has been described as gracing the flag of the victory pillar of a warrior in a *Śālabhañjikā* motif. In the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Sômadeva, certain pillars of the Nāgapur city temple have been described as decorated with the *Śālabhañjikā* motif.[14] Sômadeva has further clarified that the front portion of pillars of the temple of Nāgapura were decorated with the figures of women. He has also used the term *Putrikāma* (Women figures).[15] The word *Putrikāma* is similar to the expression of Kālidāsa's *Yôṣita* figures. The word *Putrikāma* of Sômadeva appears to be a survival of the early Gupta tradition for the description of *Śālabhañjikā* motif. It also shows that these terms have been used in the transitory phase for want of any suitable nomenclature. Hence onward, we have seen that the term *Śālabhañjikā* has been invariably used by the writers for the description of any decorative figure of woman either on pillars or railings. Here it is to be remembered that *Śālabhañjikā* a game of Eastern India, which was highly popular among the ladies in the time of 6th century B.C. had become a term of architecture to denote the decorative figures of woman, carved on pillars or railings. A limited number of examples of *Śālabhañjikā* motif is found in *Gāndhāra* art of the *Kuśāṇa* age. But their weak treatment of the subject shows its strong eastern origin. Their unimpressive depiction, however, betrays its having been imported from the East, but the *Gāndhāra* artists had tried to imitate this decorative motif in their art. The *Śālabhañjikā* motif is a purely Indian element of decorative art.[16] Later on any decorative female figure with or without a tree is known as *Śālabhañjikā* motif. The specimens of the Post *Gupta* art will amply justify this statement.

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[7] *Kāśikā on VI*. 2.74, III 3.109 and II. 2.17;
Agarwala, V. S., *India As known to Pāṇini*, 1953, p. 158.

[8] *Kāmasūtra*, Chowkhamba Sansktit Series Office, Varanasi, 1964, p. 93.

[9] Agrawala, V. S., *op. cit.*, p. 159.

[10] Cited by *Kāśikā*, on III, 3.109.

[11] *Ibid.*, III, 3.40.

[12] *Raghuvaṁśa*, 16.17.

[13] *Harṣacarita, Ullāsa* III, p. 168 of the Trivandrum ed., 1958.

[14] *Kathāsaritsāgara*, 121. 145.

[15] *Ibid.*, 121. 149.

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[16] Zannas Eliky and Auboyer Jeannine, *Khajuraho*, 1960, The Hague, p. 183.

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REVIEWS

Līlāvatī of *Bhāskarācārya* with *Kriyākramakarī* of Śaṅkara and Nārāyaṇa: edited by K. V. SARMA, Vishveshvaranand Indological Series 66, Hoshiarpur, 1975, pp. xxx + 496, Price Rs 70/-.

The most popular work on mathematics in Sanskrit was the *Līlāvatī*, written by Bhāskara in the twelfth century *A.D.* At least fifty commentaries on it in various languages exist as well as translations into Persian (three), English (two), Hindi, and various other Indian vernaculars. And the Sanskrit text, alone or with various commentaries, has been published twenty times. This new edition, by K. V. Sarma, to whom all students of the exact sciences in India must ever be grateful for his numerous editions of astronomical texts from Kerala, derives its importance from its presentation of the elaborate commentary, *Kriyākramakarī*, composed by Śaṅkara Pāraśava in the middle of the sixteenth century. Śaṅkara only commented on the first 199 verses (64 on p. 167, consisting of two verses included in the recension of the *Līlāvatī* commented on by Gaṇeśa and Mahīdhara [ed. D. V. Āpaṭe, *ASS* 107, 2 vols., Poona 1937, vol. 1, pp. 61-62], is omitted by Śaṅkara) ; the commentary on the remainder of the *Līlāvatī*, verses 200-269 (the manuscripts omit the last three verses, 270-272), was completed by Nārāyaṇa of Mahiṣamaṅgala toward the end of the sixteenth century.

The great value of the commentary, especially Śaṅkara's part, lies in its extensive quotations from earlier texts and in the versified explanations of selected points in Bhāskara's mathematics. The latter are worthy of intensive study in another context than this ; the former can be briefly commented on here. They include a large number of untraced quotations, of which a pratīka-index is given by Sarma on pp. 477-480. Besides these a number of authorities are quoted by name or their verses have been identified by Sarma ; an inaccurate index is to be found on pp. 475-476. The most frequently cited sources are the *Āryabhaṭīya* of Āryabhaṭa (who often is called simply ācārya)[1]; the *Āryabhaṭīyabhāṣya* and *Mahābhāskarīya* of Bhāskara ; the *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* of Brahmagupta[2] ; various works of Govindasvāmin, of Śrīpati[3] and of Parameśvara[4] ; and the *Pāṭīgaṇita* and *Triśatikā* of Śrīdhara.[5] The citations from

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[1] Add. pp. 82 (ācārya), 325, and 456 to Sarma's index, and note that, on pp. 181 and 182, Govindasvāmin's references to ācāryāḥ are not necessarily to Āryabhaṭa.

[2] Add. p. 243.

[3] Add. pp. 186 and 221, and remove p. 24.

[4] It is not clear that by ācāryāḥ on p. 155 Śaṅkara means Parameśvara.

[5] Add. p. 252 and remove p. 243.

Govindasvāmin, Śrīpati, and Parameśvara are particularly important as they come from works that are not yet otherwise available.

But the most impressive additions to our knowledge of Sanskrit scientific literature are the *Ekaviṃśatipraśnottara* written by Citrabhānu in the first half of the sixteenth century and quoted *in extenso* with his own commentary by Śaṅkara on verse 49 (pp. 109-126) ; the verses on *vargaprakṛti* composed by Jayadeva which, with Udayadivākara's commentary, Śaṅkara cites from the ṭīkā, *Sundarī*, on the *Laghubhāskarīya*, written by Udayadivākara in 1073 (Sarma does not refer to K. S. Shukla, " Ācārya Jayadeva, the Mathematician ", *Gaṇita* 5, 1954, 1-20), on verse 63 (pp. 158-164) ; and the *Karaṇasūtras* composed by Parameśvara in the first half of the fifteenth century and quoted by Nārāyaṇa, with his own comments and examples, on verse 233 (pp. 424-428). There is much here indeed to occupy historians of science in the future.

In the task of editing Sarma has performed at his usual level of high competence. The text is based on two manuscripts containing Śaṅkara's commentary, and two others containing this and also Nārāyaṇa's continuation. The first two contain some additional verses after Śaṅkara's commentary ends ; these are regarded by Sarma as being also of Śaṅkara's composition, and intended to be included in the commentary. Therefore, he inserts in the footnotes : (iv) 19 verses on pp. 139-140 ; (iii) 31 verses on pp. 168-171 ; and (i) 85 verses on pp. 395-402. This supplement also contains (ii) Nārāyaṇa's commentary on *Līlāvatī* 268-269 (pp. 464-465), and (v) the beginning of the *Pañcabodha* with Śaṅkara's ṭīkā, *Laghuvivṛti*. There is no convincing evidence that Śaṅkara wrote the verses in sections (i), (iii), and (iv).

Sarma is again to be congratulated on adding yet another informative edition of a scientific text from Kerala to the long list of those he has produced before.

DAVID PINGREE

The Political Biography of A Mughal Noble, Munim Khan, Khan-I-Khanan—1497–1575 : by IQTIDAR ALAM KHAN, Reader in History, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, published for the Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University by Ravi Vyas, Orient Longman Ltd., 1/24 Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi, pp. i-xx, 1–188, Price Rs. 40/-.

The book deals with the history of the Mughal Rule in India in its early stages and the part the nobles played in its consolidation and integration. It gives, as its author says, " an insight into the actual working of the political institutions and policies of the Mughal Empire during the 16th century. " The book discusses the features of the Timurid policy and the subsequent changes it underwent during the active service of Munim Khan. The author has ably summed up the career and character of Munim Khan in "Conclusion" of the book by collecting information about him from original historical sources.

Department of History of Aligarh Muslim University deserves to be congratulated on undertaking "larger enquiry into the structure and role of the Mughal Nobility."

"Naql-i-Fath-Nama of Gujarat" in Persian with its English translation is an important document contained in the book.

M. F. Lokhandwala

Saṃskṛta-Kāvya-Pratibhā: General Editor Principal V. J. Trivedi, Editor Dr. N. M. Kansara, Gujarat College Monograph Series No. 7, Gujarat College, Ahmedabad, 1975, pp. 8 + 56, Price Rs. 2.50.

Above anthology of selected Sanskrit poems first published in the Gujarat College Magazine from 1914 to 1975, published with the financial assistance from the Ministry of Education and Welfare, contains 51 poems, written during last 62 years.

The poems are classified subject-wise as follows :—

First eight Poems (1-8) are Prayers; Second group of eight poems (9-16) give description of Seasons; Next five (17-21) describe either an object or a place and the remaining 30 (22-51) are narrative and lyrical in nature.

The present anthology is a very good specimen of the literary activity in the field of Sanskrit Poetry during the period of past 62 years. It gives an idea of different trends developed in Sanskrit literature during this period. Thus we have the usual traditional trend of the eulogy of Gods, Goddesses, distinguished persons such as teachers etc. and the descriptions of nature, seasons etc.

Another trend of the influence of Western literature on Sanskrit poetry is found in the poem no. 8 (*Jīvanastotram* by Shri M. K. Pandya) which is Sanskrit rendering of the famous English poem 'Psalm of Life.' and in No. 31 by Shri Kansara which is a blank verse.

The imitation trend is also seen in the poem no. 18 (*Śukadūtam* by Shri N. C. Sheth) which is an imitation of the *Meghadūtam*. The introduction of new themes is found in Shri J. T. Parikh's Poem no. 45 (*Dāḍhikā* and *Parīkṣā*) which are humorous and pleasing.

The modern trend of writing poems on the tunes of popular songs is met with in Dr. Kansara's translation of a Gujarati Garba 'તારી વાંકી રે પાઘલડીનું ફૂમતું રે' into Sanskrit in poem no. 51. Shri Bansidhar Bhatt's poem (no. 21) is remarkable for the use of modern Sanskrit words such as 'Purse' etc. Thus the present anthology surves a good specimen of the representative Sanskrit Poems and points out that Sanskrit is not a dead language as is understood by some, but that it is a living language flexible to the requirement of the time.

Out of the 51 poems published in the present anthology, following poems are worth-mentioning on account of the poetic charm, imagery and diction :

(1) No. 4 and 17 by Shri K. H. Trivedi, (2) No. 5 by Shri C. L. Shastri, (3) No. 11 by Shri J. T. Parikh, (4) No. 13 by Shri N. C. Sheth, (5) No. 14 by Shri N. K. Bambhania, (6) No. 16 and 26 by Shri A. G. Bhatt, (7) No. 20 and 44 by Shri Umashanker Joshi.

These poems reflect the true poet budding in those old days when these poems were being composed. The poetic genius of Shri Umashanker Joshi, the winner of Jñānapītha Award and Well-known poet and scholar, is discernible even as early as the third decade of the present century.

The subjectwise arrangement of the poems does not seem to be proper. Instead the arrangement in chronological order could have proved better. Because it could have given a historical perspective of the gradual development of the Sanskrit poems during the period covering almost more than half a century.

The Editor does not seem to have taken the trouble of going through the proofs carefully. The poems are bristling with mistakes. The metrical defects and grammatical mistakes in the original poems could have been pointed out by the learned Editor. His inadvertence is seen even in the first sentence of his introduction which is grammatically incorrect. He begins with active voice and all of a sudden turns to passive construction which makes his sentence grammatically incorrect.

However the Editor Dr. Kansara and the General Editor, Principal V. J. Trivedi deserve compliments for giving us a representative collection of Sanskrit poems composed by the budding talents of the Gujarat College in past.

Other old colleges such as Baroda College, Baroda (now Faculty of Arts) and M.T.B. College, Surat may also emulate this new adventure and publish such representative collections of the poems published in their respective magazines in the past.

A. N. JANI

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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2. *Kusumāñjali-Kārikā—Vyākhyā of Nārāyaṇa Ṭīrtha* : Edited by Shri Shrinivas Shastri, Reader, Department of Sanskrit, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra, Pub. by : Same as above, pp. 90, Price : Rs. 20-00.

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INTRODUCTION

In A.D. 1809 the then Gaekwad of Baroda, Ānandarāja (1800-1819), presented to the East India Company a collection of 507 manuscripts, mostly in Sanskrit. This splendid library of the early nineteenth century is still preserved intact in the India Office Library in London; descriptions of its contents are scattered throughout the pages of the several volumes of part I of that library's *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts* (1887-1904).

Nearly a fifth of the Gaekwad's collection—95 manuscripts in all—contain texts on *Jyotiḥśāstra*; they are listed in Appendix A. They range in date from A.D. 1398 (2528 c) to A.D. 1795 (2528 e), and form an invaluable aid to the reconstruction of the history of *jyotiḥśāstra* in Gujarat and the surrounding regions. In particular, they allow us to trace the history of a Gujarātī family of *jyotiṣīs*, the Girinārāyaṇajñāti, who were active at Jūnāgaḍha and Rājakoṭa between the early fifteenth century and the middle of the eighteenth, and who copied or owned at least 16 of the *jyotiṣa* manuscripts in the collection.[1]

The astronomical texts included in the Gaekwad's collection belong either to the *Brāhmapakṣa*[2] or to the *Gaṇeśapakṣa*.[3] This is precisely what one expects to find in this region of India at any period after about A.D. 1200. The present paper is the first in a series in which will be published editions of the shorter astronomical texts of these two *pakṣas* preserved in the manuscripts of the Gaekwad's collection and in manuscripts in the Oriental Institute in Baroda, supplemented by those in other libraries of India, Europe, and America.

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[1] Pingree D., *Sanskrit Astronomical Tables in England* (hereafter *SATE*), Madras 1973, pp. 186–188.

[2] On the characteristics of the *pakṣas* see Pingree D., " On the Classification of Indian Planetary Tables ", *Journal for the History of Astronomy* (hereafter *JHA*) 1, 1970, 95-108, and " Essay on the History of Indian Astronomy ", to appear in the supplementary volume of the *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*. The *Brāhmapakṣa* texts in the Gaekwad's collection are :

Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta of Brahmagupta (628). 2529d.
Grahajñāna of Āśādhara (1132). 2464b and c. *SATE* 69–72.
Karaṇakutūhala of Bhāskara (1183). 2114a and 2529a.
Laghukhecarasiddhi of Śrīdhara (1227). 2408b. *SATE* 73–76.
Siddhāntasundara of Jñānarāja (1503). 2114b.
Candrārkī of Dinakara (1578). 541e. Pingree D., *Sanskrit Astronomical Tables in the United States* (hereafter *SATIUS*), Philadelphia 1968, pp. 51b–53a.
Kheṭasiddhi of Dinakara (1578). 2648. *SATIUS* 53a–53b and *SATE* 101–112.
Gaṇitacūḍāmaṇi of Harihara (*ca.* 1580). 2 08a.
Tithikalpadruma of Kalyāṇa (1605). 2529e. *SATE* 123–128.
Jagadbhūṣaṇa of Haridatta (1638). 2252. *SATIUS* 55b–59b.
Grahavidyādhara of Vidyādhara (1638). 2083c.
Pañcāṅgavidyādharī of Vidyādhara (1643). 2529b. *SATIUS* 60b–61b.

[3] The texts that belong to the Gaṇeśapakṣa are :

Grahalāghava of Gaṇeśa (1520). 2041a, 2114c, and 2181.
Grahakaumudī of Nṛsiṃha (1603). 2083d and e. *SATE* 118–123.
Siddhāntarahasyodāharaṇa of Viśvanātha (1612). 2041a, 2181, 2545, and 2606.
Grahaprabodhasāriṇī of Yādava (1663). 2083a. *SATIUS* 63a–64b. I have not yet been able to determine the *pakṣas* to which the following two works belong :

The *Laghukhecarasiddhi* of Śrīdhara is a short text of 21 verses accompanying a set of planetary tables belonging to the *Brāhmapakṣa*. The epoch of the work is 20 March 1227; as Nīlakaṇṭha, the scribe of manuscript L remarks, this is 16,096 days from the epoch of Bhāskara's *Karaṇakutūhala*, which is 23 February 1183. This interval is equivalent to 4 x 4,016 days; it is interesting to note that 4,016 days is a basic period in the tables of the *Gaṇeśapakṣa*.[4]

The Nīlakaṇṭha mentioned above was a member of the Girinārāyaṇajñāti (II 1 in my tentative genealogy); another member of that family, Harihara (IV 1; *fl. ca.* A.D. 1580), is the only astronomer so far known to have referred to Śrīdhara's work. In verse 114 of his *Gaṇitacūḍāmaṇi* he writes :

कुतूहलाद्राजमृगाङ्ककाद्वा
आशाधरात् खेचरसिद्धितस्तु ।
पंचाङ्गपत्राद्विदधीत खेटान्
स्पष्टान् सुखार्थं पुनरत्र सम्यक् ॥

Śrīdhara, in verse 1 of the *Laghukhecarasiddhi*, refers to the *Brahmasiddhānta*, and in verse 21 to the several parts of Bhāskara's *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi*, written in about A.D. 1150. Moreover, as will be shown in the notes, much of Śrīdhara's work is based on Bhāskara's *Karaṇakutūhala*, whose epoch is A.D. 1183, just 43 years before that of the *Laghukhecarasiddhi*, which is, therefore, the earliest text based on that karaṇa. We know that Bhāskara's grandson, Caṅgadeva, founded a *maṭha* for the study of his grandfather's works, which was endowed by Soīdeva the Nikumba on 9 August 1207.[5] Further, both Caṅgadeva and his cousin Anantadeva,[6] who established a temple at Bahāḷ in Khāndeśa in A.D. 1222, were astrologers at the court of Siṅghaṇa, the *Yādava* ruler of Devagiri (*ca.* 1210-1246). It is tempting to associate Śrīdhara with these two contemporary relatives of Bhāskara, and to localize him in the territory of the *Yādavas*, probably in Khāndeśa where the inscriptions of Caṅgadeva and Anantadeva were found.

Laghukaraṇa of Bhāvā Sadāśiva Bhaṭṭa (1598). 2464d.
Golasiddhāntacintāmaṇi of Sadānanda (?). 2408c.

[4] *SATIUS* 46b–47b and 62a–64b ; *SATE* 93–100.

[5] Pingree D., *Census of the Exact Sciences in Sanskrit* (hereafter *CESS*), A 3 (to appear).

[6] *CESS* A 1, Philadelphia 1970, 41a–41b.

The provenance of the surviving manuscripts also suggest western India as the area in which Śrīdhara wrote. Three manuscripts can be definitely asserted to contain the *Laghukhecarasiddhi*.

B. Baroda, Oriental Institute 3094. 2ff. The edges of the leaves are broken off, including some of the text. After the colophon is written : सं. १६७१ ज्येष्टवदि ५ बुधे सुकदेवेनेदं समलेषि॥ The date corresponds to 15 June 1614.[7] The text is preserved on ff. 1v-2v; for the tables on ff. 1r and 2v see Appendix B.

L. London, India Office Library 2408 b (2930).[8] 9ff. After the colophon is written :

संवत् १६११ वर्षे शाके १४७७ प्रवर्तमाने चैत्रशुदि ३ सोमे। अद्येह श्रीजीर्णदुर्गे वास्तव्यः श्रीगिरिनारायणज्ञातीयः सांकलीयापांड्या श्रीविद्याधरसुतविष्णुरघुनाथनीलकण्ठनरसिंहपुत्रपौत्रादिपठनार्थं श्रीनीलकण्ठस्वहस्तेन लिषितं ॥

The date corresponds to 25 March 1555. The text is preserved on ff. 1v-4v.

Calcutta, Asiatic Society G 10081 (6842). 3ff., of which two (numbered 3 and 4) contain tables. After the colophon is written : शुभं लि° मिश्र टोडरू. The manuscript was copied in *Nāgarī* in the eighteenth century.[9] The colophon entitles the work *Khecarasiddhānta*.

There were also three (or possibly only two) manuscripts in Oudh in the 1880's that may have contained Śrīdhara's work, though they seem to be too lengthy. The first belonged to *Paṇḍita* Pratāpa Nārāyaṇa of the Allahabad Zila; it is Oudh XX (1888) VIII 69. 114pp. This manuscript is perhaps identical with another in the catalogue of the same library, Oudh XX (1888) VIII 71. 16pp., though manuscript 69 is entitled *Khecarasiddhi* and manuscript 71 *Siddhavallī* (*cf*. verse 21 d : *satkīrtivallīm iva*). The third manuscript belonged to *Paṇḍita* Vindhyeśvarī Prasāda of the Gonda Zila; it is Oudh XXI (1889) VIII 6. 12pp., and is entitled *Siddhakheṭī*.

The text here edited is based on manuscripts B and L.

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[7] The year-number was mis-read as 1971 by Nambiyar R., *An Alphabetical List of Manuscripts in the Oriental Institute, Baroda*, vol. 2, *GOS* 114, Baroda 1950, p. 1171.

[8] *SATE* 30-31.

[9] According to Sengupta P. C., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Collections of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. 10, part 1, Calcutta 1945, p. 14.

< श्रीश्रीधराचार्यविरचिता >

लघुखेचरसिद्धिः

ओं नमः श्रीगणेशाय ॥

नारायणं श्रीधरपादपद्मं
पारायणं पुण्यवतां प्रणम्य ।
श्रीब्रह्मसिद्धान्तसमां करोमि
श्रीश्रीधरः खेचरसिद्धिमल्पाम् ॥ १ ॥

नन्दाब्धिरुद्रोनशकोऽर्कनिघ्न-
श्चैत्रादिमासैर्युगधोऽष्टयुक्तः ।
स्वभूरसांशेन वियुग्रदाप्तो
युक्तोऽधिमासैः खगुणघ्न आद्यः ॥ २ ॥

दिनैरधोऽष्टाब्धियुतः स्वराम-
खाद्यंशयुग्वेदरसैर्विभक्तः ।
लब्धावमोनो विकुरर्कपूर्वः
स्याद् द्युव्रजोऽक्षाङ्गगुणोद्धृतोऽसौ ॥ ३ ॥

ध्रवाः फलस्था निहताः समेताः
क्षेपान्विताः स्युर्ध्रुवकास्तु मध्याः ।
फलस्य शेषेण हता द्युयोगा
युक्ता ग्रहस्य स्वसमाध्रुवाद्याः ॥ ४ ॥

गत्यध्वघाता खगजैर्विलिप्ता
हृता ग्रहे प्राक्परयोर्ऋणं स्वम् ।
मध्यो रविजीवकुजार्कजानां
शीघ्रोच्चसंज्ञाः खचराः स्वयं च ॥ ५ ॥

Apparatus

Invoc. शिवाय B. after श्रीगणेशाय L adds: श्रीसूर्याय नमः ॥ अथ लघुखेचरसिधिग्रंथं लिख्यंते ॥ **1a** श्रीधृत° L. **1c-d** °रोमि श्रीश्री° in tear B. **2c** स्वयूरसां° in tear B. **2d** युतो L. **3b** खाद्यंश° in tear B. 3c लब्धो B. **4-5b** : cf verses added by B after col. 4a फलस्था नि° in tear B. °तास्तथैते L, °ताः समेता in marg. L. 4b स्यात् L ध्रुवकः समाद्यः L. **4c** स्थानैस्तु शेषैस्तु B. **4d** युता L ग्रहः स्यात्सस° B. ध्रुवकाद्याः in tear B. °द्याः in marg L. 5a गत्याध्व° L °घातः BL. **5c-6b** om. B.

ज्ञशुक्रयोर्मध्यरविर्ग्रहाः स्युः
शीघ्रोच्चसंज्ञौ भवतस्तयोस्तौ ।
ग्रहोनमुच्चं मृदुकेन्द्रमस्मिन्
त्र्यङ्काधिके षड्भगणान्तरे दोः ॥ ६ ॥

भौमाशुकेन्द्रस्य पदैष्ययात-
स्वल्पस्य लिप्ताः खखवेदभक्ताः ।
आप्तांशहीनाद्यमसृङ्मृदूच्चं
स्फुटं भवेत् कार्किमृगादिकेन्द्रे ॥ ७ ॥

भुजांशकाः खेन्दुहृतास्तु मान्द-
कोष्ठास्तदैष्यान्तरनिघ्नशेषात् ।
दिगाप्तयुङ्मन्दफलं ग्रहेषु
स्वर्णं स्वकेन्द्रेऽजतुलादिगे स्यात् ॥ ८ ॥

रवेः फलं षड्विहृतं विलिप्ता
स्वर्केऽर्कवह्नेत्रहृतं विधोस्तु ।
मृदूच्चगत्यूनितखेचरस्य
गतिर्गतैष्यान्तरताडिताप्ता ॥ ९ ॥

दिग्भिर्विलिप्ता स्वमृणं गतौ स्यात्
कुलीरनक्रादिगते स्वकेन्द्रे ।
बाणाब्धिवेदोनशकस्य लिप्ताः
खाङ्गैर्विभक्ता ह्ययनांशकाः स्युः ॥ १० ॥

यदायनांशैः क्रियपूर्वगेऽर्के
शङ्कुद्युतिर्मध्यदिनेऽक्षभा सा ।
त्रिस्थाक्षया दिग्गजदिग्घतात्त्या
त्र्याप्ता चरार्धस्य विनाडिकाः स्युः ॥ ११ ॥

Apparatus

6a ज्ञशुक्रयोः above line L. **6d** °धिके षड्° in tear B; °गणांतरिंदोः L. **7c** °द्यमसृ° in tear B. **8b** = **15b**. **8c** L has मंदफलं मंदकोष्ठके युक्तं कार्यं. **8c** °प्तयु° in tear B. **8d** ऽजितुलादिके L. **9b** °हृतं L. **10a** गतिविषये above line L **10c-11b** om. L **11a** क्रयपूर्वगे B. **11b** क्षभाग्रा BL. **11d** चराख्याश्च B.

युक्तायनार्कस्य भुजाभतुल्य-
खण्डैक्यमेष्याहतशेषकेन ।
व्योमाग्निभक्तेन युतं चरं स्यात्
तद्घ्नी गतिः षष्टिहृता ग्रहाणाम् ॥ १२ ॥

क्षयं स्वमस्तोदययोर्विलिप्ताः
सूर्ये तुलादौ स्वमृणं क्रियादौ ।
इत्थं रवीन्दू व्रजतः स्फुटत्वं
मन्दस्फुटा भूमिसुतादयः स्युः ॥ १३ ॥

चरं विधायाथ मृदुस्फुटत्वे
विधेयमेतेषु विशेष एषः ।
ग्रहोनशीघ्रं चलकेन्द्रमेत-
च्चक्राद्विशोध्यं रसभाधिकं चेत् ॥ १४ ॥

तदंशकाघो दशभिर्हृतः स्यात्
कोष्ठस्तदैष्यान्तरनिघ्नशेषात् ।
दिगाप्तहीनो गतकोष्ठ एष्ये
हीनं फलं स्यादधिके तु युक्तम् ॥ १५ ॥

स्वर्णं ग्रहे मेषतुलादिकेन्द्रे
प्राक्संस्कृतो मन्दफलार्धकाभ्याम् ।
ग्रहस्तदुत्थाखिलमन्दजेन
मध्योऽथ शीघ्रेण परिस्फुटः स्यात् ॥ १६ ॥

फलैर्विपूर्वैर्विकुजा स्फुटा वा
मन्दस्फुटा शीघ्रगतेर्विशुद्धा ।
भुक्तिर्हृता गम्यगतान्तरेण
खखाङ्कभक्ता ऋणमल्प एष्ये ॥ १७ ॥

Apparatus

12a यतुल्यैः L. **13b** स्वर्के B. क्रयादौ L. **14a** विधीयाथ B. मृदुस्फुटत्वं B. **14b** विशेषमेषः B. **15a** तदंशकेभ्यो BL. °गतः BL. **15b=8b.** गतकोष्ठकातैष्ये कोष्ठके हीने फलकोष्ठके हीनं स्यात् above **15c** L. **15d** हीने BL **16a** °तुलादिगे तत् B. **16b** मंदचलार्ध° L. **16d** पुनः in marg. L. **17a** °र्विं° in tear B. **17b** गति above line L. **17d** °भक्ता om. B, but add above line.

मन्दस्फुटे स्यादधिके जवे स्वं
वक्रा गतिश्चेदृणतो विशुद्धा ।
मेषादिगेऽर्केऽक्षभुवश्चरेण
युक्ता दिनार्धं रहितास्तुलादौ ॥ १८ ॥

सूर्येन्दुयोगस्य स्वगम्यलिप्ताः
खखाष्टभिर्व्यर्कविधोर्नखागैः ।
भाज्या युतिर्भं तिथियः फलं स्यात्
स्वभुक्तिभिर्गम्यगता दिनादिः ॥ १९ ॥

वक्रावक्रोदयास्तोक्त-
भागा हीनाथवाधिकाः ।
तल्लिप्ताः केन्द्रभुक्त्याप्ता
दिनैर्गम्या गताः स्फुटाः ॥ २० ॥

पाटीकुट्टकबीजगोलसहितान् गणितान् पैतामहादीन् वयं
सिद्धान्तानपि मन्महे प्रतिदिनं खेटानपि प्रस्फुटान् ।
इत्याकर्ण्य विदां वचांसि कृपया श्रीश्रीधरः प्रस्फुटां
चक्रे खेचरसिद्धिमिन्दुधवलां सत्कीर्तिवल्लीमिव ॥ २१ ॥

इति श्रीगणकचक्रचूडामणिश्रीश्रीधराचार्यविरचिता लघुखेचरसिद्धिः समाप्ता ॥

Apparatus

18a स्यात्स्वजवे धिके स्वं B, स्यादजवे अधिके जवे स्वं L. गत्याधिके फले above line L. **19d** स्वरभुक्तितो B. **20** om. B.

21a गणिताम् om. B **21b** सिद्धांतानिपि B, सिद्धांतादपि L खेटान्नु L col. in B : इति श्रीश्रीधरकृता खेचरसिद्धिः ॥ शुभं मे भूयात् after the col. B adds:

लब्धाङ्कसंख्या भवतीह कोष्ठैर्यैः संयुतैर्वा वियुतैस्तथैव ।
तत्कोष्ठकस्था(स्थ)ध्रुवकान्तरैक्यं
क्षेपः स्थितं (क्षेपान्वितं) स्यात्(द्)ध्रुवकः समाद्यः(द्यौ) ॥ १ ॥

द्युपिण्डशेषाङ्कयुतिद्यु(र्द्यु)भोगै-
स्तथैव साध्याथ समासमाद्याः ।
भवेत्(द्)ग्रहः खाष्टहृताध्वनिघ्ना
गतिर्ग्रहे प्राक्परयोर्ऋणं स्वम् ॥ २ ॥

Cf. 4-5b.

Mathematical notes.

2-3d. The years since *Śaka* 1149 = A.D. 1227 multiplied by 12 give the *saura* months; these, as is usual in Indian astronomy, are increased by the lapsed synodic months of the current year beginning with *Caitra*. The sum is approximately the lapsed *saura* months, n, since epoch. The *adhimāsas*, a, are found by the formula :

$$a = \frac{60n}{61} \times \frac{1}{32} = 0;\ 1,\ 50,\ 39,\ 20n.$$

This is an approximation to the correct *Brāhmapakṣa* formula (*Siddāntaśiromaṇi, Grahagaṇita* 1, 2, 10-11) :

$$a = \frac{1,593,300,000n}{51,840,000,000} = \frac{5,311n}{172,800} = 0;\ 1,50,38,45n.$$

The 8 that is added to n is the kṣepa for the beginning of *Śaka* 1149, representing approximately the accumulated fractional *adhimāsa* at that time. In 1227 there had elapsed since the beginning of the current *Kaliyuga* in —3,101 exactly 4,328 years containing 51,936 *saura* months and 1,596 *adhimāsas*; the accumulated fractional *adhimāsa* was 0;15,2 = 8 × 0;1,52,45. The sum of the lapsed *saura* months and the lapsed *adhimāsas* is the number of lapsed synodic months.

Thirty times the lapsed synodic months is the number of lapsed *tithis* till the beginning of the current synodic month; this increased by the lapsed days (*i.e.*, *tithis*) of the current synodic month is the number of lapsed *tithis*, t. The formula to find the lapsed *avamas*, u, is :

$$u = \frac{704t}{703} = \frac{1}{64} = \frac{11t}{703} = 0;0,56,19,48t.$$

This is precisely the approximation used by Brahmagupta in *Brāhmasphuṭa-siddhānta* 1, 42-43. The 48 is another *kṣepa*, representing the accumulated fractional avama at the beginning of *Śaka* 1149. In the 1,972,948,328 years between the beginning of the current *Kalpa* and that date there were, according to the *Brāhmapakṣa*, 11,533,129,713 *avamas*, and the accumulated fractional *avama* was 0;51,33,46,8,45 = 48 × 0;1,4,27,12,40,56,15. Clearly 48 is not a very good approximation to the *kṣepa* that is required.

The lapsed *tithis* diminished by the lapsed *avamas* equal the lapsed civil days—that is, the *ahargaṇa*. Since the epoch, 20 March 1227, was a Saturday, the *ahargaṇa* diminished by one is a set of days beginning with Sunday.

3d-4. The mean motion tables of the *Laghukhecarasiddhi* give four elements : the mean motions in 1, 10, and 100 " years " of 365 days each; the mean motions in 1, 10, and 100 days; the *kṣepakas* or epoch mean longitudes; and the longitudes of the mandoccas. Therefore, the quotient of the division of the *ahargaṇa* by 365 is the number of "years" lapsed since epoch. This is factored into multiples of 100, 10, and 1, the appropriate multiplications performed (*nihatāḥ*), the products summed (*sametāḥ*), and the sums added to the *kṣepakas*; the results are the mean longitudes of the planets at the beginning of the current "year" (*svasamādhruvāḥ*). The remainder of the division of the *ahargaṇa* by 365 is the number of lapsed days in the current "year"; this multiplied by the planets' respective mean daily motions gives the mean progresses of the planets during this period. The sum of these mean progresses and the *svasamādhruvāḥ* are the mean longitudes of the planets at 6 *A.M.* at the prime meridian of the current day.

5a-b. The *deśāntara* correction measures the motion of the planet in the fraction of a day representing the longitudinal difference between a given locality and the prime meridian. In these lines *adhva* is the distance in *yojanas* between the points on the equator intercepted by the local meridian and the prime meridian, and the circumference of the earth is assumed to be 4,800 *yojanas*.

7. This verse is based on *Karaṇakutūhala* 2, 5. The correction is also found in *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi*, *Grahagaṇita* 2, 25 (*cf.* *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 2, 37-40), though there the maximum correction is 6;40° rather than $\frac{2{,}700'}{400} = 6;45^\circ$.

8. The tables of the *manda* and *śīghra* equations in the *Laghukhecarasiddhi* are for intervals of 10° of argument. This verse instructs one on how to enter these tables and use linear interpolation to find the correct equation.

9a-b. These lines seem to prescribe an increment to the Sun's equation, measured in minutes, of a three hundred and sixtieth, to the Moon's of a hundred and twentieth. Perhaps, however, they are related to *Karaṇakutūhala* 2, 11.

10c-d. It is assumed that the sidereal and the tropical zodiacs coincided in *Śaka* 445 = A.D. 523, and that the tropical vernal point processes from sidereal Aries 0° at the rate of one minute a year or 1° in 60 years.[10] This is the processional theory of *Karaṇakutūhala* 2, 17, except that Bhāskara makes the year of coincidence A.D. 522.

11-14b. *Cf.* *Karaṇakutūhala* 2, 19-20.

14c-18b. *Cf.* *Karaṇakutūhala* 2, 7-15.

19-20. *Cf.* *Karaṇakutūhala* 2, 21-22. The *śīghra*-anomalies required for the occurrences of the planetary phenomena are tabulated with some errors in table 23 of the *Laghukhecarasiddhi*; the correct values are given in *Karaṇakutūhala* 6, 5-8.

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[10] See Pingree D., "Procession and Trepidation in Indian Astronomy before *A.D.* 1200," *JHA* 3, 1972, 27–35.

APPENDIX A

Jyotiṣa Manuscripts in the Gaekwad's Collection. The numbers in parentheses are the serial numbers of the printed catalogue.

2041 a (2933) *Grahalāghava* of Gaṇeśa with the *Siddhāntarahasyodāharaṇa* of Viśvanātha. 85ff. Copied from 2181.

2041 b (3057) *Tājikālaṅkāra* of Śambhurāma. 35ff.

2041 c (2896) *Jyotiṣaratnamālā* of Śrīpati. 36ff.

2042 b (3031) *Phaladīpikā* of Harajī. 28ff. Copied (from a manuscript copied ?) in Saṃ. 1723 = A.D. 1666.

2049 a (3001) *Jyotiṣasāroddhāra* of Harṣakīrti. 20ff. Copied by Labdhicandra, the pupil of Kalyāṇanidhāna, at Bāvalligrāma. *SATE* 25.

2049 b (3043) *Aṭhavīsanakṣatraphala*. 30ff. Copied by Gokula Bhaṭṭa on Friday 9 *śuklapakṣa* of *Caitra* in Saṃ. 1688 = 1 April, 1631. *SATE* 25.

2049 c (2967) Tables. 24ff. Formerly the property of Jīvarāja, < the son of > Prabhūjī Bhaṭa. *SATE* 25.

2049 d (3039) *Bhuvandīpaka* of Padmaprabhu Sūri. 14ff. *SATE* 26.

2051 (3108) *Sarvārthacintāmaṇi* of Veṅkaṭaśarman. Ff. 1-19 and 19b-77.

2072 b (2994) *Ṣaṭpañcāśikāvṛtti* of Bhaṭṭotpala. 11ff.

2076 a (3087) *Jātakapaddhati* of Keśava. 13ff. Copied by Mukundajīka, the son of Nārāyaṇa Jośī, at Rājakoṭa on Sunday 2 *śuklapakṣa* of *Mārgaśirṣa* in Saṃ. 1706 = 25 November, 1649.

2076 b (3091) *Keśavapaddhatyudāharaṇa* of Viśvanātha. 45ff.

2083 a (2969) *Grahaprabodhasāriṇī* of Yādava. Ff. 5-37. *SATE* 26-27.

2083 b (2970) *Grahalāghavasāriṇī* I. Ff. 1-2 and 4-8. *SATE* 27.

2083 c (2961) *Grahavidyādhara* of Vidyādhara. 6ff. Copied by Morārajīka, the son of Prabhūjī Bhaṭa, for the use of himself and his brothers Jīvarāja and Valabhajī. *SATE* 27.

2083 d (2945) *Grahakaumudī* of Nṛsiṃha. 3ff. *SATE* 27-28.

2083 e (2946) Tables of the *Grahakaumudī* of Nṛsiṃha. 71ff. *SATE* 28.

2091 a (3118a) *Samarasāra* of Rāmacandra. 6ff. Copied by Śivadeva, the son of Harikṛṣṇa, in A.D. 1679.

2091 b (3118b) *Samarasāraṭīkā* of Bharata. 15ff. Copied by Śivadeva, the son of Harikṛṣṇa, in A.D. 1679.

2091 c (3067) *Laghujātaka* of Varāhamihira. 14ff. Copied by Prabhujīka, the son of Mukundajī Bhaṭṭa of the Girinārāyaṇajñāti, at Nūtanapura on Friday 7 *śuklapakṣa* of *Āṣāḍha* in Saṃ. 1797 = 13 June, 1740 for the brothers Jīvarā < ja >, Vallabhajī, Morārajī, and Bhavāni.

2091 d (3011) *Praśnajñāna* of Brahmārka. 13ff. Copied on Saturday 6 kṛṣṇapakṣa of Caitra in Saṃ. 1692 = 16 April, 1636.

2093 (2853) *Gaṇitatattvacintāmaṇi* of Lakṣmīdāsa. Ff. 1-138, 140-198, and 200-255. Copied by Roḍūrāma at Oḍapura on Thursday 7 śuklapakṣa of Mārgaśīrṣa in (expired) Saṃ. 1817 = 3 December, 1761 Gregorian.

2110 (2990) *Yogayātrā* of Varāhamihira. Ff. 3-30. Copied by Bhāṇajī, the son of Vidyādhara of the Girinārāyaṇajñāti, on Saturday 1 kṛṣṇapakṣa of Māgha in Saṃ. 1728, Śaka 1593 = 2 February, 1672.

2114 a (2927) *Karaṇakutūhala* of Bhāskara with a bhāṣya. Ff. 2-73. Copied in A.D. 1510.

2114 b (2902) *Siddhāntasundara* of Jñānarāja. 37ff. Copied in A.D. 1782.

2114 c (2938) *Grahalāghava* of Gaṇeśa. Ff. 1-8, 10-12, and 14.

2114 d (2978) *Pārasīprakāśa* of Vedāṅgarāya. 11ff.

2115 (2999) *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* of Kālidāsa, 102ff.

2119 (2897) *Jyotiṣaratnamālā* of Śrīpati with the vivaraṇa of Mahādeva. 148ff.

2123 (3019) *Muhūrtacintāmaṇi* of Rāma with his own *Pramitākṣarā*. Ff. 1-55 and 55b-196.

2151 (3090) *Keśavapaddhatyudāharaṇa* of Viśvanātha. 57ff.

2171 (2989) *Bṛhatsaṃhitāvivṛti* of Bhaṭṭotpala. 532ff.

2181 (2932) *Grahalāghava* of Gaṇeśa with the *Siddhāntarahasyodāharaṇa* of Viśvanātha. 85ff.

2182 (3052) *Varṣatantraṭīkā* of Viśvanātha. 57ff.

2186 (3106) *Śakunārṇava* of Vasantarāja. 97ff.

2219 (2983) *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* of Varāhamihira. 37ff.

2252 (2971) *Jagadbhūṣaṇa* of Haridatta. Ff. A, 1-13, B, and 14-88. Formerly the property of Maṇirāma Govinda Śarman. Contains a record of the nativity of Bahurāvala, the son of Latasiṃghajī, on Saturday 2 *kṛṣṇapakṣa* of *Māgha* in *Saṃ.* 1755, *Śaka* 1620 = 4 February 1699. *SATE* 28-30.

2328 (3014) *Hāyanaratna* of Balabhadra. 222ff.

2330 (3073) *Vṛddhayavanajātaka* of Mīnarāja. 282ff.

2339 (3074) *Vṛddhayavanajātaka* of Mīnarāja. 283ff. Copied from 2330.

2343 a (2907) *Yantrarājaṭīkā* of Malayendu. 23ff.

2343 b (2906) *Yantrarājaṭīkā* of Malayendu. 60ff.

2345 b (3136) *Svapnacintāmaṇi* of Jagaddeva. Ff. 1-7, 13-15, 18, and 21-29. Copied by Sāmi Harisaṃkaragiri for Rāma on Sunday 2 *kṛṣṇapakṣa* of *Jyeṣṭha* in *Saṃ.* 1687 = 16 May, 1630.

2345 c (3133) *Ramalaśāstra* of Rāma .13ff. Copied on Sunday 1 *śuklapakṣa* of *Āṣāḍha* in *Saṃ.* 1810 = 1 July, 1753 Gregorian.

2356 (3075) *Jātakābharaṇa* of Ḍhuṇḍhirāja. 83ff.

2359 a (3062) *Tājikakaustubha* of Bālakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa. 42ff. Copied by Rāmakṛṣṇa Muni at Bhīlaiḍānagara in Meḍapāṭadeśa on the side of Mt.

Citrakūṭa on Friday 12 *śuklapakṣa* of *Śrāvaṇa* in *Saṃ*. 1810, *Śaka* 1675 = 10 August 1753 Gregorian.

2359 b (3063) *Tājikabhūṣaṇa* of Gaṇeśa. 26ff. Copied in A.D. 1733.

2359 c (3095) *Janmapaddhati*. 12ff.

2367 (2798) *Līlāvatī* of Bhāskara. 52ff.

2372 a (3060) *Tājikapaddhati* of Keśava. 7ff. Copied by Mujundajīka, the son of Nārāyaṇa Jośī of the Girinārāyaṇajñāti, at Rājadurga on Friday 7 *kṛṣṇapakṣa* of *Caitra* in *Saṃ*. 1706 = 12 April 1650.

2372 b (3080) *Muktāvalīpaddhati* of Śiva. 7ff. Copied by Mukundajīka, the son of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, for his son Viśvanātha on Sunday 2 *śuklapakṣa* of *Māgha* in *Saṃ*. 1721, *Śaka* 1586 = 7 January 1665.

2408 a (2924) *Gaṇitacūḍāmaṇi* of Harihara. 13ff. Copied by Puruṣottama, the son of Narasiṃha of the Girinārāyaṇajñāti, on Friday 2 *śuklapakṣa* of *Mārgaśīrṣa* in *Saṃ*. 1656, *Śaka* 1521 = 9 November 1599. *SATE* 30.

2408 b (2930) *Laghukhecarasiddhi* of Śrīdhara. 9ff. Copied by Nīlakaṇṭha, the son of Vidyādhara of the Girinārāyaṇajñāti, for himself and his brothers Viṣṇu, Raghunātha, and Narasiṃha at Jīrṇadurga on Monday 3 *śuklapakṣa* of *Caitra* in *Saṃ*. 1611, *Śaka* 1477 = 25 March 1555. *SATE* 30-31.

2408 c (2903) *Golasiddhāntacintāmaṇi* of Sadānanda. 10ff. *SATE* 31.

2409 a (2792) *Līlāvatī* of Bhāskara. 23ff. Copiod for Mathurādāsa, the son of Trigovinda Śarman, at Mihakaragrāma near Bālāpura in Varāradeśa on Thursday 12 *kṛṣṇapakṣa* of *Jyeṣṭha* in *Saṃ*. 1653 = 10 June 1596.

2426 (2895) *Jyotiṣaratnamālā* of Śrīpati. 41ff. Copied on Sunday <1> 2 *śuklapakṣa* of *Caitra* in *Saṃ*. 1730 = 5 April 1674.

2457 (3079) *Kāmadhenupaddhati* of Jayarāma Bhaṭṭa. 71ff. Copied on Sunday 5 *śuklapakṣa* of *Mārgaśīrṣa* in *Śaka* 1650 = 24 November 1728.

2460 (3025) *Muhūrtamārtaṇḍa* of Nārāyaṇa with his own *Mārtaṇḍavallabhā*. 121ff.

2464 a (2941) *Kalpalatā*. 28ff. *SATE* 31.

2464 b (2922) *Grahajñāna* of Āśādhara. 5ff. Copied by Nīlakaṇṭha, the son of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa of the Girinārāyaṇajñāti, on Monday 13 *kṛṣṇapakṣa* of *Āṣāḍha* in *Saṃ*. 1694, *Śaka* 1559 = 10 July 1637. *SATE* 31-32.

2464 c (2923) Tables of the *Grahajñāna* of Āśādhara. Ff. 1 and 3-6. Copied by Vidyādhara Josī of the Girinārāyaṇajñāti. *SATE* 32.

2464 d (2949) *Laghukaraṇa* of Bhāvā Sadāśiva Bhaṭṭa. 7ff. *SATE* 32-33.

2464 e (3040) *Yaddhajayārṇavatantra*. 33ff. Copied for Durlabharāma on 8 *kṛṣṇapakṣa* of *Māgha* in *Saṃ*. 1838 = *ca*. 5 February 1782 Gregorian. *SATE* 33.

2464 f (2880) *Gaṇitasārasaṅgraha* of Mahāvīra. 82ff. Copied for Brahmaśāmala, the pupil of Bhaṭṭāraka Sumatikīrtideva of the spiritual lineage of Kundakundācārya in the *Balātkāra gaṇa* in the Sarasvatīgaccha of the Mūlasaṅgha. Donated by members of the Humbajñāti and the Uttareśvaragotra at Jaladurga. *SATE* 33-34.

2491 (3051) *Saṃjñātantra* of Nīlakaṇṭha with the ṭīkā of Viśvanātha. 97ff.

2508 (2899) *Sārāvalī* of Kalyāṇavarman. Ff. 1-34, 38-163, and 165-168.

2517 (3000) *Jyotirnibandha* of Śivarāja. Ff. 1-72 and 72b-330.

2520 a (3100) *Yavanajātaka* of Yavanācārya and *Bālabodhajātaka* of Haridatta. 32ff. Formerly the property of Jīvarāja, the son of Prabhujī Bhaṭa.

2520 b (3065) *Bṛhajjātaka* of Varāhamihira. Ff. 1-6, 8-18, 20-28 and 32-37.

2520 c (3070) *Laghujātaka* of Varāhamihira with the *Śiṣyahitā* of Bhaṭṭotpala. 31ff.

2521 a (3048) *Tājika* of Nīlakaṇṭha. 38ff. Copied by Nātharāma at Savāī Jayapura on Thursday <1> 3 *śuklapakṣa* of *Caitra* in *Saṃ*. 1817,. *Śaka* 1682 = 16 April 1761 Gregorian.

2528 a (3022) *Muhūrtakalpadruma* of Viṭṭhala Dīkṣita. 36ff. Copied by Śivadeva on Saturday 3 *kṛṣṇapakṣa* of *Pauṣa* in *Saṃ*. 1749, *Śaka* 1614 = 14 January 1693.

2528 b (3036) *Vivāhapaṭala* of Śārṅgapāṇi. 30ff. Copied on Thursday 15 *śuklapakṣa* of *Pauṣa* in *Saṃ*. 1654 = 12 January 1598.

2528 c (3037) *Vivāhavṛndāvana* of Keśavārka. 16ff. Copied (from a manuscript copied?) by Nārada of the Kāvicajñāti on Tuesday 10 *śuklapakṣa* of *Śrāvaṇa* on *Saṃ*. 1455, *Śaka* 1320 =23 July 1398.

2528 d (3096) *Janmapattrikāpaddhati*. 18ff.

2528 e (3023) *Muhūrtamārtaṇḍa* of Nārāyaṇa. 21ff. Copied in A.D. 1795.

2528 f (3026) *Muhūrtadīpaka* of Mahādeva. Ff. 1-2 and 4-9. Copied by Gaṅgārāma, the son of Devakṛṣṇa of the Udīcyajñāti, at Nīmrapura on Wednesday 1 *śuklapakṣa* of *Śrāvaṇa* in *Saṃ*. 1742, *Śaka* 1607 = 22 July 1685.

2528 g (3122) *Svarodaya*. 20ff.

2529 a (2925) *Karaṇakutūhala* of Bhāskara. 8ff. Copied on Saturday 12 *kṛṣṇapakṣa* of *Mārgaśīrṣa* in *Saṃ*. 1765 = 27 November 1708. *SATE* 38.

2529 b (2960) *Pañcāṅgavidyādharī* of Vidyādhara. 6ff. Copied by Morārajīka, the son of Prabhujī Bhaṭa, on Wednesday 8 *kṛṣṇapakṣa* of *Mārgaśīrṣa* in *Saṃ*. 1783. *Śaka* 1648 = 7 December 1726. *SATE* 38.

2529 c (3061) *Maṇitthatājika* of Maṇittha. 6ff *SATE* 38.

2529 d (2768) *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* of Brahmagupta. 27ff. Copied on Sunday 7 *kṛṣṇapakṣa* of *Mārgaśīrṣa* in *Saṃ*. 1678 = 25 November 1621. *SATE* 38.

2529 e (2962) *Tithikalpadruma* of Kalyāṇa. A : 8ff., and B : ff. 8-10 and 10b-22. B was copied by Prabhujī Bhaṭa. Formerly the property of Jīvarā <ja>, and then of Nānu Bhaṭa. *SATE* 38-39.

2541 a (2929) *Brahmatulyodāharaṇa* written for Rāya Rāyasiṃha. 35ff. Copied by Kuśalasāgara, the pupil of Lāvaṇyaratnajī, at Pattana on Friday 5 *kṛṣṇapakṣa* of *Pauṣa* in *Saṃ.* 1730, *Śaka* 1595 = 16 January 1674. *SATE* 40.

2541 b (3058) *Tājikasāra* of Haribhaṭṭa. 20ff. *SATE* 40.

2541 c (3059) *Kārikā* of Sumatiharṣa. 20ff. *SATE* 40.

2541 d (3099) *Lagnacandrikā* of Kāśīnātha. 17ff. *SATE* 40.

2541 e (2948) *Candrārkīṭippaṇa* of Dinakara. 2ff. *SATE* 40.

2545 (2934) *Siddhāntarahasyodāharaṇa* of Viśvanātha. 80ff. Copied by Durlabha Travāḍī for Haradevajī, the son of Chaganata Travāḍī.

2546 (3078) *Jātakābharaṇa* of Ḍhuṇḍhirāja and *Kāmadhenupaddhati* of Jayarāma Bhaṭṭa. 87ff. Copied at Nalinagara on Thursday 4 *kṛṣṇapakṣa* of *Vaiśākha* in *Saṃ.* 1771, *Śaka* 1636 = 22 April 1714.

2606 (2937) *Siddhāntarahasyodāharaṇa* of Viśvanātha. Ff. 2-4, 6-45, and 47-95.

2648 (2947) *Kheṭasiddhi* of Dinakara. A : 3ff., B : 1f., C : 12ff., and D : 75ff. Copied by Nīlakaṇṭha, the son of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, on Friday 8 *kṛṣṇapakṣa* of *Caitra* in *Saṃ.* 1683, *Śaka* 1549 = 7 April, 1626. *SATE* 41-42.

2657 a (2793) *Līlāvatī* of Bhāskara. 14ff. Copied in A.D. 1673.

2657 b (2975) *Gaṇitanāmamālā* of Haridatta. 4ff.

2658 (2801) *Līlāvatī* of Bhāskara. 41ff. Copied in A.D. 1792.

Index of authors (their dates in the Christian era are given in parentheses).

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Kālidāsa (*ca.* 1242). 2115.
Kāśīnātha (before 1670). 2541d.
Keśava (1496). 2076a, 2151, and 2372a.
Keśavārka (before 1398). 2528c.
Gaṇeśa (1520-1554). 2041a, 2114c, and 2181.
Gaṇeśa (*ca.* 1600). 2359b.
Jagaddeva (*ca.* 1175). 2345b.
Jayarāma Bhaṭṭa (before 1650). 2457 and 2546.
Jñānarāja (1503). 2114b.
Ḍhuṇḍhirāja (*ca.* 1525). 2356 and 2546.
Dinakara (1578-1583). 2541e and 2648.
Nārāyaṇa (1571-1572). 2460 and 2528e.
Nīlakaṇṭha (1569-1587). 2491 and 2521a.
Nṛsiṃha (1603). 2083d and e.
Padmaprabhu Sūri (before 1315). 2049d.

Balabhadra (1629-1655). 2328.
Bālakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa (1632). 2359a.
Brahmagupta (628-665). 2529d.
Brahmārka (before 1622). 2091d.
Bhaṭṭotpala (965-969). 2072b, 2171, and 2520c.
Bharata (*ca.* 1450). 2091b.
Bhāvā Sadāśiva Bhaṭṭa (1598). 2464d.
Bhāskara (1150-1183). 2114a, 2367, 2409a, 2529a, 2657a, and 2658.
Maṇittha (before 1505). 2529c.
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Mahādeva (1647-1661). 2528f.
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Rāma (before 1657). 2345c.
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Viśvanātha (1612-1630). 2041a, 2076b, 2181, 2182, 2491, 2545, and 2606.
Veṅkaṭaśarman (1654). 2051.
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Śambhurāma (1730). 2041b.
Śārṅgapāṇi (before 1598). 2528b.
Śiva (1478). 2372b.
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Haridatta (1638). 2252.
Haridatta (before 1697). 2657b.
Haribhaṭṭa (1523). 2541b.
Harihara (*ca.* 1580). 2408a.
Harṣakīrti (before 1673). 2049a.

Chronological list of dated Manuscripts

2528c : 23 July 1398.
2114a : 1510.
2408b : 25 March 1555.
2409a : 10 June 1596.
2528b : 12 January 1598.
2408a : 9 November 1599.
2529d : 25 November 1621.
2648 : 7 April 1626.
2345b : 16 May 1630.
2049b : 1 April 1631.
2091d : 16 April 1636.
2464b : 10 July 1637.
2076a : 25 November 1649.
2372a : 12 April 1650.
2372b : 7 January 1665.
2042b : 1666.
2110 : 2 February 1672.
2657a : 1673.
2541a : 16 January 1674.
2426 : 5 April 1674.
2091a : 1679.
2091b : 1679.
2528f : 22 July 1685.
2528a : 14 January 1693.
2529a : 27 November 1708.
2546 : 22 April 1714.
2529b : 17 December 1726.
2457 : 24 November 1728.
2359b : 1733.
2091c : 13 June 1740.
2345c : 1 July 1753 Gregorian.
2359a : 10 August 1753 Gregorian.
2521a : 16 April 1761 Gregorian.
2093 : 3 December 1761 Gregorian.
2464e : 5 February 1782 Gregorian.
2114b : 1782.
2658 : 1792.
2528e : 1795.

APPENDIX B

On f. 2v manuscript B has two tables. The first is a table of the *kṣepakas* of the planets for 20 March 1227, which differs somewhat from that reconstructed from tables 1-9 in manuscript L[11]. This table is reproduced here as it appears in B.

प्रंथादौ क्षेपकाः रव्यादीनाम्

र	चं	मं	बु	बृ	शु	श	उ	पा
११	०	०	२	१०	४	१०	४	२
२८	१५	२६	११	२१	६	१	४७	०
३०	४१	१६	१२	३२	१५	५०	४०	३२
३०	४१	१५	४८	३०	५३	२२	२२	१३

The second table is table 1 (for the Sun) of the *Laghukhecarasiddhi*.

On f. 1r of B is written, in a different hand, a table for *tithis*, *nakṣatras*, and *yogas* for *Śaka* 1550-1557 = A.D. 1628-1635; it is divided into three sections (the first two sections and most of the third for *Śaka* 1550 are torn off). The first section tabulates the *abdapa* (yearly parameter : about 1; 15, 31, 15 days), the *tithidhruva* about(10; 56, 6, 45 module 30), and the *nakṣatrayogadhruva* (about 10;2,30 module 27). The second section tabulates the *tithikendra* (about 7; 5, 48, 15 module 27; 59, 32), the *nakṣatrakendra* (about 7; 0, 30 module 27; 13, 50), and the *yogakendra* (about 7; 31, 46 module 29; 16, 3). The third section tabulates the *tithivāra* (about 1; 11, 42), the *nakṣatravāra* (about 1; 18, 2, 50), and the *yogavāra* (about 1; 17, 52, 20). The entries for *Śaka* 1551 = A.D. 1629 are :

abdapa	2; 36, 35
tithidhruva	17; 23, 18
nakṣatrayogadhruva	15; 2, 58
tithikendra	22; 4, 40
nakṣatrakendra	21; 8, 55
yogakendra	22; 43, 36
tithivāra	2; 59, 41
nakṣatravāra	2; 39, 35
yogavāra	2; 39, 22

The parameters and the functions of this table are not unlike those utilized in the *Pañcāṅgavidyādharī*[12] written by Vidyādhara of the Girinārāyaṇajñāti (VI 3) at Jīrṇagaḍha in A.D. 1643; he was the grandson of the Harihara who mentions the *Laghukhecarasiddhi* in his *Gaṇitacūḍāmaṇi*. Both Vidyādhara's *Pañcāṅgavidyādharī* and his *Grahavidyādhara*, written at Rājakoṭa in A.D. 1638, will be edited later in this series; manuscripts of both are in the Gaekwad's collection (2083c and 2529b), and of the first in the Smith Indic collection (manuscript 30) at Columbia University in New York.[13]

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[11] *SATE* 74.

[12] *SATIUS* 60b-61b.

Vidyādhara himself was the scribe of the Gaekwad's manuscript of the tables accompanying Āśādhara's *Grahajñāna* (2464c). This is a very carefully written and neat manuscript, quite different from f. 1r of manuscript B. However, it remains possible that the Baroda manuscript at some period in its history (presumably in the 1620's and 1630's) belonged to a member of the *Girinārāyaṇajñāti*.

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[13] *SATIUS* 17a-17b.

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